The Chronicle of Morea

Historiography in Crusader Greece

TERESA SHAWCROSS

Oxford Studies in Byzantium consists of scholarly monographs and editions on the history, literature, thought, and material culture of the Byzantine world

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Preface

Of the writings produced by the era of the Crusades, the *Chronicle of Morea* is undoubtedly one of the most important and engaging. As such, it has attracted the notice and captured the imagination of some of the main intellects of our age. No less a figure than Goethe appears not only to have known the work well, but to have felt the influence to such a degree of its portrayal of the early rulers of the Principality of Morea that he moulded the hero of his *Faust* to be as they were said to have been—an adventurer and conqueror from the sunless north who descended upon the Peloponnese and, there, with his knightly companions, settled down and built castles with lofty gothic halls, within twenty years of his arrival on the scene becoming master of the land and its prince, and securing the respect and admiration of his native subjects for his 'vigour, daring and cleverness'. Another great poet, Cavafy, for his part, can also be identified as having attentively perused an edition of the *Chronicle*, reflecting upon its content as he went along, and jotting down a series of notes for himself. Among scholars, too, many have made the study of the *Chronicle* an interest of theirs, including one of the fathers of both modern lexicography and modern history, Du Cange, and others whose names have continued to preserve their lustre for generations after their owners' deaths. To follow after such examples is inevitably to feel that one is but a pygmy clambering up onto the shoulders of giants. Yet, for all the risk of vertigo, the task which I have attempted here was one that sorely needed undertaking, for no substantial book-length examination of the texts of the *Chronicle of Morea* has been published for over a century—and certainly none at all that attempts to achieve a rounded, interdisciplinary appreciation by combining codicological, literary, and historical approaches. As well as commenting upon formal or stylistic characteristics, my analysis seeks to draw attention to the *Chronicle* as a precious artefact both of the context in which it was created and of those in which it was subsequently transformed. I have tried to give an impression of some of the aesthetic and ideological preoccupations of that bygone society distinctive to the Crusader States in Greece, and to suggest the complexities of the cultural and political interaction of that geographical area with the wider medieval world. If these aims have been achieved at least partially, and my endeavours encourage others, I shall be more than satisfied.

This present volume began as a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Oxford. At that time, my investigations were placed under the aegis of the

Arts and Humanities Research Council and the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation, while Exeter College provided an intellectual home. Initial insights were then revised and developed, and matters were brought to completion, during a year spent in tenure of a Hannah Seeger Davis Post-Doctoral Fellowship in the Program of Hellenic Studies at Princeton University. I owe a great deal to teachers and colleagues both at these institutions, and from further afield. My thanks go, first and foremost, to Elizabeth Jeffreys, Bywater and Sotheby Professor at Oxford, who patiently watched over the progression of the various drafts, and was unfailingly a source of sound advice. I am especially grateful to Michael Jeffreys, who willingly put his expertise at my disposal, and agreed to look at and discuss an early version of the argument presented here; to David Gwynn, who encouraged me to persevere with the writing of individual chapters; and to Michael Angold, Tony Hunt, and Paul Magdalino, who, towards the end, read what I had written and made a number of apposite comments and suggestions. I would also record the mentorship and friendship given by Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, James Howard-Johnston, and Jonathan Shepard, together with that of Peter Brown, Danny Ćurčić, and Dimitri Gondicas, as well as the readiness with which Jean Dunbabin, Catherine Holmes, Julian Chrysostomides, and John Haldon shared their erudition.

Working on the *Chronicle of Morea* has, as was only to be expected, taken me well away from my everyday university surroundings on more than one occasion. I am deeply beholden to the Biblioteca nacional de España, the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia, the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, the Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie or Burgerbibliothek Bern, and the Kongelige Bibliotek of Denmark for allowing me to conduct research on the manuscripts belonging to their rare collections. Because of the generosity of the custodians of these libraries, permission was granted to reproduce in this volume colour photographs of folios from all the exemplars of the *Chronicle* to have survived; it is hoped that, as a result, my readers and I will, in a sense, turn over the pages and make out the words together. In Greece itself, considerable kindnesses were shown to me by the British School and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, by the staff of the *Γεννάδειος* and the *Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, and also by the local officials and the innumerable ordinary people whom I encountered. I shall never forget the bread eaten round a kitchen table within sight of the pass of Macry Plagi, nor indeed the glass of water offered under the ruined walls of Our Lady of Isova.

Before ending, I must, of course, express my warm thanks to the President, Cyril Mango, and the Members of the Board of Oxford Studies in Byzantium, as well as to the editors at Oxford University Press, for making publication possible. The greatest debt of all to be acknowledged, however, is that to my

parents. My gratitude for their support over the years is such that it can never adequately be put into writing; it is to them, as is only right, that this volume is dedicated. Finally, I should like to mention that, although my typescript was already written and submitted when I arrived at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, it is here that the very last touches have been put to the book, and here, in the Hall's sunlit gardens, with justice called by Henry James 'the prettiest corner of the world', that I pen these lines.

Spring 2008

Contents

PART II NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE:
ORALITY AND LITERACY

Tables and Maps

Plates

A Note on the Rendition of Names and Quotations

The Latinized or Anglicized form of the names of persons and places in Greek has been preferred in cases where other forms would appear pedantic (e.g. Nicaea and not Nikaia, Constantine and not Konstantinos); for less familiar names, transliteration with 'k', 'es' and 'os' has been adopted (e.g. Kalodikes). In dealing with first names or surnames derived from Latin or Romance sources, the form most indicative of the ethnic origin of the individual concerned has usually been chosen (e.g. Guillaume de Villehardouin rather than William of Villehardouin, Niccolò Acciauioli rather than Nicholas Acciauioli).

All quotations from the *Chronicle of Morea* and from other primary sources given in the original language are accompanied by a translation into English which will be found either in the main text or in a footnote. These translations are my own except in those rare cases where they are acknowledged as having been derived or adapted from a published version.

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Introduction

'Never did Alexander or Charlemagne or King Louis lead such a glorious expedition, nor could the valiant lord Aimeri or Roland with his warriors win by might, in such noble fashion, such a powerful empire as we have won' (vv.73–9).[1] Writing in Greece in the summer of 1205, the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras celebrated the Fourth Crusade by comparing its achievements with the greatest deeds known to history or legend. Another poet also gloried in the exploits performed by himself and his companions, and marvelled at the fabulous wealth that had subsequently fallen into their hands. 'Once we had succeeded in vanquishing our enemies', Hugues de Berzé recalled, 'we were raised from poverty and surrounded by riches—emeralds and rubies, silks and purple, lands, gardens, and handsome marble palaces' (vv.454–62).[2] Naturally, such exultation was not shared by everyone. An anguished lament survives from the pen of a Byzantine, Nicetas Choniates, who, following his own people's defeat, found himself, like many courtiers and magnates, driven into exile.[3] Considerable reservations were expressed in other circles regarding the legitimacy of the diversion of the Crusade from its initial objective.[4] Some observers went so far as to accuse the crusader leaders of abandoning their pilgrimage and accepting Saracen bribes to reroute military aid away from the Holy Land.[5] Yet,

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[1] Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, *Poems*, ed. Linskill (1964), 244: 'Anc Alixandres non fetz cors | ni Carles nil reis Lodoics | tan honrat, nil pros n'Aimerics | ni Rotlands ab sos poignadors | non saubron tan gen conquere | tan ric emperi per poder | cum nos ...', translated on p.246.

[2] 'La Bible au seignor de Berzé, chastelain', ed. Barbazan (1808), 408: 'Et quant nous éumes toz mis | Au desouz les noz anemis, | et nous fumes de povreté | Fors, plungié en la richece, | És esmeraudes, és rubis, | Et és porpres et és samis, | Et aus terres et aus jardins, | Et auz biaus palés marberins'. For the participation of Hugues de Berzé in the Fourth Crusade, see de Paris (1889).

[3] Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, vol. 1 (1975) 577–82, 591–3.

[4] Many individuals, among them Arnold von Lübeck *c*.1209, declared that they were undecided as to whether the deeds of the Crusade were truly those of God. See *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Lappenberg (1868), 240.

[5] Especially outspoken in its criticism was a brief account of the affairs of the Outremer for the years 1131–1224 which survives in a work attributed to Philippe de Novare (*Gestes des chiprois: Recueil des chroniques françaises écrites en Orient aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, ed. Raynaud (1887) 17). Indeed, there were those among the crusaders themselves who came ruefully to believe that by looting and burning the churches and palaces of fellow Christians they had surrendered to overweening pride, covetousness, and debauchery, committing most grievous
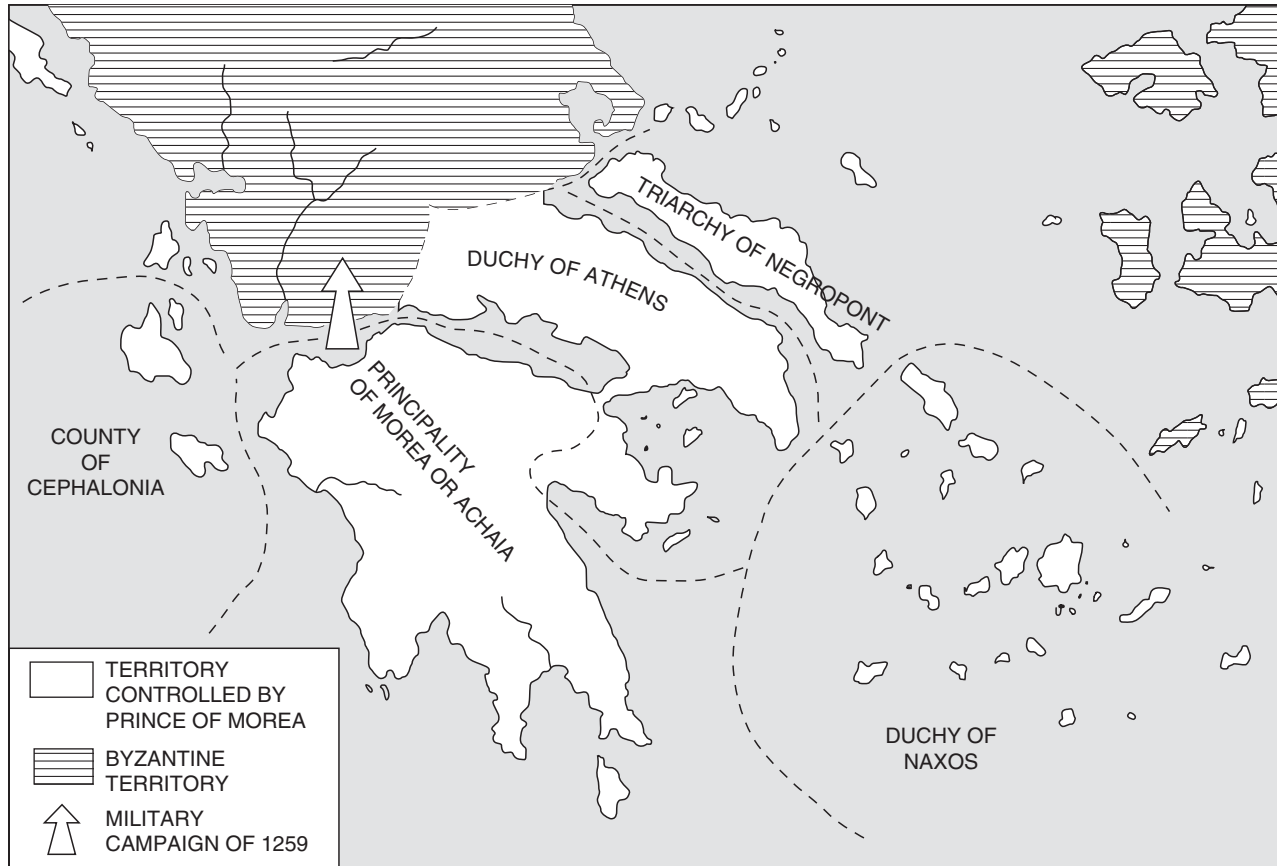
Map 1. The Principality of Morea and its Dependencies (*c*.1259)
Drawn by the author © Teresa Shawcross
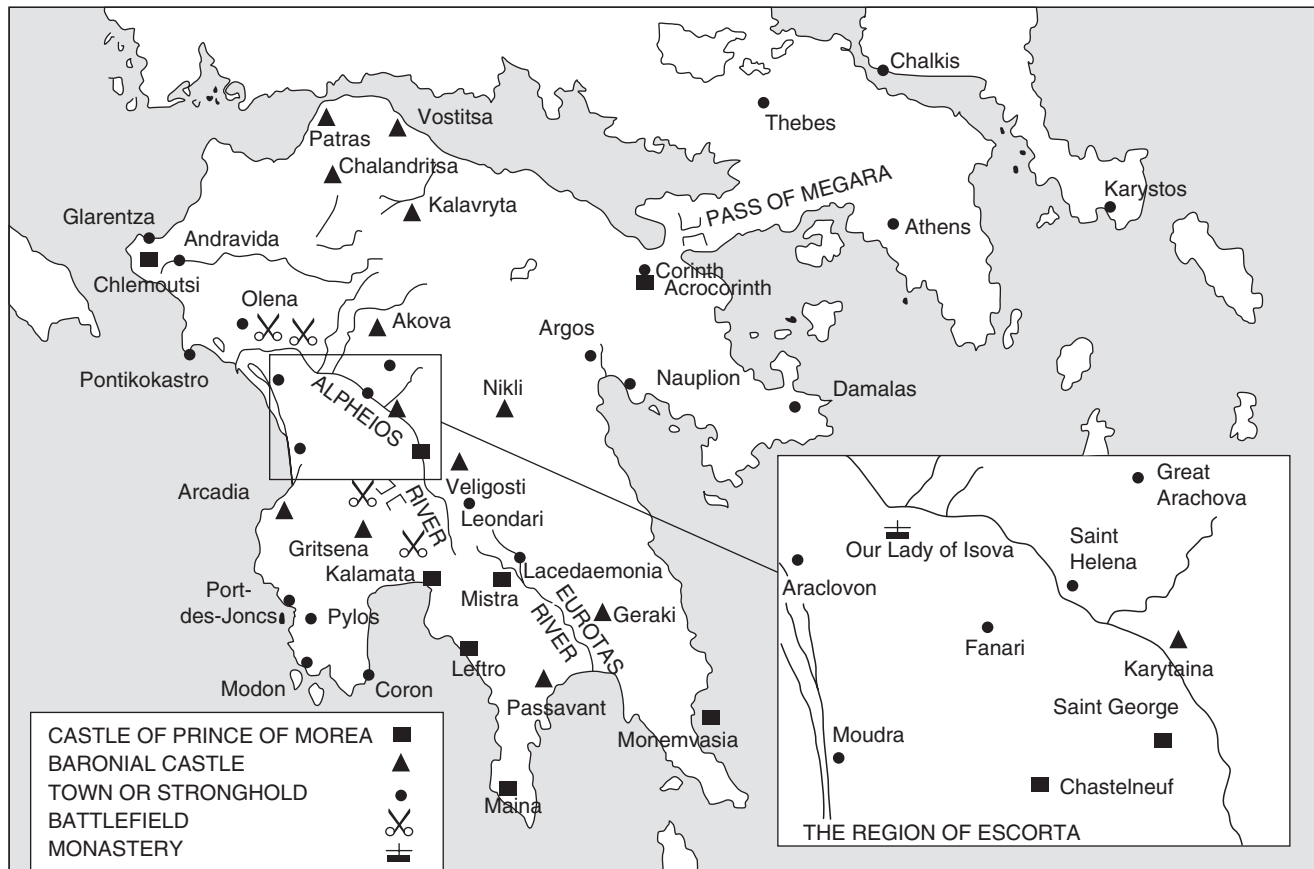
Map 2. The Peloponnese: Towns, Strongholds and Battlefields
Drawn by the author © Teresa Shawcross

Geoffroy I de Villehardouin, *d.*1228
PRINCE OF MOREA 1209–1228

Geoffroy II, *d.*1246
PRINCE OF MOREA 1228–1246
m. Agnès de Courtenay

Guillaume II, *d.*1278
PRINCE OF MOREA 1246–1278
m. (1) daughter of Narjot de Toucy
(2) Carintana dalle Carceri, *d.*1255
(3) Anna (Agnès) Doukaina of Epirus, *d.*1289

Alice
m. Hugues de Briel

Geoffroy de Briel, *d.*1275
Baron of Karytaina

Isabeau, *d.* ca.1311
PRINCESS OF MOREA 1289–1307
m. (1) [Louis] Philippe d'Anjou, *d.*1277
(2) Florent de Hainault, *d.*1297
PRINCE OF MOREA 1289–1297
(3) Philippe de Savoie, *d.*1334
PRINCE OF MOREA 1301–1307

Marguerite, *d.*1315
Lady of Akova
m. Isnard de Sabran

Mahaut de Hainault, *d.*1331
PRINCESS OF MOREA 1313–1318
m. (1) Guyot de la Roche, *d.*1308
(2) Louis de Bourgogne, *d.*1316
PRINCE OF MOREA 1313–1316
(3) Hugues de la Palisse

Marguerite de Savoie, *d. c.*1375

Isabeau de Sabran, *d.*1315
m. Ferrando de Mallorca, *d.*1316
claimant PRINCE OF MOREA, 1315–1316

affianced (i) Charles d'Anjou the Younger, *d.* 1315, Despot of Epirus and Vicar of Romania
(ii) Jean d'Anjou, *d.* 1335, Count of Gravina, PRINCE OF MOREA 1318–1332

Genealogical Table 1. The Villehardouin Rulers of the Principality of Morea
Drawn by the author © Teresa Shawcross

whatever the misgivings articulated by contemporaries, the fact remains that after the capture of Constantinople on 12 April 1204, westerners proceeded to conquer and hold extensive territories formerly belonging to Byzantium.[6] Given that every one of the major crusades had, for over a hundred years, been accompanied by plans for precisely this outcome,[7] the event was hardly one that had been unanticipated.[8] As such, it represented, when it finally did occur, the last great push for expansion made by the crusading movement in the eastern Mediterranean.

The participants in the enterprise were of diverse geographic origin. Of the two major contingents, one originated in French-speaking Northern Europe—Champagne, Flanders, and the Hainault—and the other in Venice. A treaty, drawn up in March 1204, on the eve of the assault on Constantinople, set out how the booty and, subsequently, the land resources of the Byzantine Empire would be split, and a Latin emperor and patriarch elected.[9] More detailed negotiations took place after the fall of the Byzantine capital. The result, enshrined in the *Partitio Romaniae* of September or October 1204, envisaged a three-way partition, with one quarter of the Byzantine provinces going to the new emperor, three eighths to the doge and the commune of Venice, and three eighths to the other crusader leaders.[10] Despite these provisions, the reality which emerged was essentially that of a free-for-all. Within a decade, a number of western states and colonies had come into being.[11] Of these, some were already recovered by the Byzantines in the thirteenth century. Others, however, did experience greater longevity and indeed were still in existence at the dawn of the modern era. Such was the case with mainland Attica and Boeotia, as well as with Crete, Euboea, or the Negropont, and numerous other islands of the Aegean. Although many of the conquerors had originated within the ranks of the minor nobility, over time their prestige grew and the dynasties founded by them acquired a reputation for refinement and chivalry. Thus, during the initial period after 1204, those who remained behind in the old western homelands were amazed

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sins before God. See Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, *Poems*, ed. Linskill (1964), 226, vv.41–2 and 50; 'La Bible au seignor de Berzé, chastelain', ed. Barbazan (1808) 408, vv.441–2.

[6] On the Fourth Crusade, which has been the subject of well over one hundred studies in the last fifty years alone, see in particular the monograph by Angold (2003), but also Godfrey (1980) and Queller (1978). Reviews of scholarship can be found in Queller and Stratton (1969), Brand (1984), Madden (1994), Angold (1999), Balard (2005), and Angold (2006).

[7] Laiou (2005).

[8] Magdalino (2005).

[9] *Urkunden zur Älteren Handels- und Staatgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ed. Tafel and Thomas, vol. 1 (1856) 444–51.

[10] Ibid. 464–88.

[11] For details regarding the identity of these states and colonies, see Lock (1995) 5.

that Othon de la Roche, the son of 'a certain nobleman from Burgundy, Pons de la Roche', should have been raised by 'a sort of miracle' to become 'Duke of Athens and Thebes'.[12] A century later, adventurers following in the footsteps of the crusaders expressed acute feelings of social inadequacy, declaring themselves unfit even to hold the finger-bowls in which the wives and daughters of the old settlers washed their hands when waited upon at table.[13]

Of the states founded by the crusaders, the Principality of Morea or Achaia was the most successful.[14] It was established in 1205, and, until 1261, experienced continuous growth, significantly extending its territory and imposing its hegemony upon many of its neighbours. The areas under its control began gradually to contract after this period, as its soil turned into a battlefield where the ambitions of the diverse powers which disputed the Aegean and Near East were played out. Yet, even in the face of adversity, the Principality proved remarkably durable, remaining in existence for over two centuries, with its last outposts finally surrendering to Byzantine reconquest only in 1429–32. Such was the splendour of its rulers at the zenith of their power that they were alleged not only to have maintained a salaried personal guard of 'eighty knights' shod 'with golden spurs', but to have presided over a court which, with 'seven hundred or a thousand noblemen always in attendance', eclipsed that of 'a great king'.[15] Similarly, the Principality's magnates and noblemen were so admired that even their enemies acknowledged them to be 'the most noble knighthood in the whole world'.[16]

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[12] 'Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium a Monacho Novi Monesterii Hoiensis Interpolata', *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Scriptores* 23) (1874), 885: 'Otto de Rupe, cuiusdam nobilis Pontii de Rupe in Burgundia filius, quodam miraculo fit dux Athenesium atque Thebanorum'.

[13] Ramon Muntaner, *Cròníca*, ed. Gusta, vol. 2 (1979) §240: 'que no li tanguera que li donas augua mans'.

[14] The classic studies on the history of Crusader Greece are Du Cange, 2 vols. (1657, revised edition 1826, repr. 1971), Miller (1908, repr. 1964), and Longnon (1949), while an introductory book with an up-to-date approach has recently been published by Lock (1995). Two monographs have made important contributions to our knowledge specifically of the Principality of Morea: Bon, 2 vols. (1969) and Ilieva (1991). Particular weight should also be given to a series of articles by Jacoby (1963 repr. 1976), (1967 repr. 1976), (1973), (1976 repr. 1979 and 1989).

[15] Marino Sanudo Torsello, Ἰστορία της Ρωμανίας, ed. Papadopoulou (2000) 105, 107: 'Egli aveva continuamente nella corte sua 80 cavallieri a spiron d'oro a suo stipendio, oltre che li dava le cose necessarie'; 'stette con tanta grandezza, che la corte sua pareva maggior d'una corte d'un gran re; sempre seguiva la sua corte da 700 in 1000 cavalli'.

[16] Ramon Muntaner, *Cròníca*, ed. Gusta, vol. 2 (1979) §261: 'la pus gentil cavalleria del món era de la Morea'.

THE PRINCIPALITY OF MOREA

The beginnings of the Principality of Morea can be traced to the meeting of two men—Guillaume de Champlitte and Geoffroy de Villehardouin—and their decision to join forces and conquer the Peloponnese.[17] Of the pair, the former had been present already at the siege of Constantinople, while the latter had arrived afterwards, drawn no doubt by tales of aggrandizement. The field-army at their disposal was small, totalling according to one estimate no more than five hundred horsemen, of whom about a hundred were knights and the rest mounted sergeants,[18] yet these numbers proved adequate since the districts in which operations took place capitulated with little show of resistance. Although the peninsula that would form the heartland of the future state was initially referred to in accounts as the 'isle of Modon',[19] after the harbour in the south-east, long a port at which traders and pilgrims had called, and past which the crusader fleet had sailed on the way to Constantinople, other names, derived from an increased knowledge of topography of the north-west Peloponnese, and reflecting the actual physical location not only of the administrative centres but also of the main royal residence created by the conquering regime, soon came to be preferred. Of these names, that of 'Achaia', appropriated from imperial and papal precedents established many centuries previously, indicated a concern to lay claim to a title of suitable pedigree and antiquity, and was preferred in official contexts, while that of 'Morea', referring perhaps to the mulberry trees abundant in the region, was the appellation used by the indigenous population at the time of the arrival of the crusaders and appears to have consequently become the usual choice in common parlance.[20]

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[17] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Dufournet (2004) §§325–8; *The Chronicle of Morea* (Τὸ χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως), *A History in Political Verse, Relating the Establishment of Feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the Thirteenth Century, Edited in Two Parallel Texts from the MSS of Copenhagen and Paris, With Introduction, Critical Notes and Indices*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.1340–895; *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée—Chronique de Morée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§89–126; *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea compilado por comandamiento de Don Fray Johan Ferrandez de Heredia, maestro del Hospital de S. Johan de Jerusalem (Chronique de Morée au XIIIe et XIVe siècles publiée et traduite pour la première fois pour la Société de l'Orient Latin*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §§89–145; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 422–8. See, for comments, Longnon (1949) 73 and Bon (1969) 56.

[18] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Dufournet (2004) §§328–9, and, for comments Ilieva (1991) 128 and Lock (1995) 73.

[19] Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Dufournet (2004) §111.

[20] Longnon (1949) 74–5, Bon (1969) 303–13, and Kourelis (2003) 120–1.

Within a few years of the invasion, the departure of Guillaume I de Champlitte, followed by his death shortly afterwards, meant that it was his junior colleague, Villehardouin, who appeared at the head of the crusader forces of southern Greece at a parliament convened in Ravennika in 1209, where he received confirmation from the Latin Emperor of his territorial possessions and claimed the title of 'Prince of Achaia' by which he subsequently began to style himself.[21] By the end of his reign (1209–28), the entirety of the Peloponnese, with the exception of an area in the south-east, had fallen under his sway, and these conquests were consolidated and further extended by his sons and unchallenged successors, Geoffroy II (1228–46) and Guillaume II (1246–78).

The occupation was facilitated by the use made of castles, some of which were functioning strongholds that were merely taken over at the conquest, others ancient acropolises that were adapted, and still others new foundations built on virgin ground.[22] Many of these strongholds, from Acrocorinth in the north-east, to Chlemoutsi or Clermont and Pontikokastro or Beauvoir in the north-west, Androusa and Kalamata in the south-west, Mistra in the centre, and Maina and Monemvasia in the south-east, passed under the direct control of the prince or were built at his expense, resulting in the formation of a ring of 'royal' fortresses that was complemented and reinforced by additional castles, such as that at Karytaina, held by other crusaders. These places acted as barracks for troops, as refuges, storehouses for goods and money, prisons, and, above all, statements of power and status.[23] As the process of settlement gathered pace, wives and children were brought over, and old patronymics given up and replaced by new ones assumed from the toponyms of the lands of conquest.[24] Thus, prior to his coronation as prince, even the future Guillaume II went under the name 'Guillaume of Kalamata'.[25] In many instances, possession was taken of holdings carved out of great estates previously belonging to Byzantines based in Constantinople, whether members of

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[21] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.1896–902; *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §127; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §146; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 428; Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. Longnon (1948) §§669–70, Du Cange, vol. 1 (1971) 425, and, for comments, Longnon (1949) 111–12 and Bon (1969) 64.

[22] Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 317 ff.

[23] Molin (2001) 191–298.

[24] Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gusta, vol. 2 (1979) §244; *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.3149–50; *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §218.

[25] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) v.2448 and 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 433.

the imperial family or other courtiers, so that lands which had previously known absentee proprietors often came under the control of a lord who spent at least a portion of the year in residence together with his household.[26] Service amounting to 'four months on castle-guard and four months on campaign' was expected of knights, while the duties and rights of other categories of people were also regulated.[27] Officers such as the grand constable and marshal, the *logothete* or chancellor, and the *protovestiarius* or chamberlain, but also various captains, castellans, and *bouteillers*, were appointed by the prince and assisted him in government. More generally, society took shape along lines which meant it comprised, in descending order, high barons or *bers de terre*, liege men, men of simple homage, *archondes* or native lords, sergeants, bourgeois and other free men, and, finally, villeins, whether *paroikoi* or the even more lowly *nicarioi*.[28]

The Villehardouin, in the years from 1212 to 1258, were able to impose their hegemony both outside the Peloponnese as well as within it, being recognized as suzerains by the rulers of much of the territory remaining in western possession during this period. Thus, the Duchy of Athens, the Triarchy of Negropont, the Duchy of Naxos, and the County of Cephalonia all became dependencies of the Principality of Morea.[29] The ambitions of the dynasty may have extended even further. Having acquired, through a marriage alliance, potential claims upon the succession to the imperial throne, the Villehardouin involved themselves heavily in the affairs of the capital of the Latin Empire, with Geoffroy II repeatedly leading his fleet up the Bosphorus during the 1230s and 1240s, and Guillaume campaigning in Macedonia in the 1250s.[30] Possession of Constantinople was imputed by some to have been

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[26] Longnon (1949) 190.

[27] *Les Assises de Romanie*, ed. Recoura (1930) 210: 'quatro mexi [. . .] in alguno castello, et quatro in alguna frontiera'.

[28] For these divisions, see *Les Assises de Romanie*, ed. Recoura (1930) and the documents published in *Actes relatifs à la Principauté de Morée (1289–1300)*, ed. Perrat and Longnon (1967) and *Documents sur le regime des terres dans la Principauté de Morée au XIV*, ed. Longnon and Topping (1969), as well as an extensive commentary found in Topping (1949, 1956), Longnon (1965), Jacoby (1967), Ostrogorsky (1971), and Kazhdan (1995).

[29] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.1550–66, 2603–4, 3184–6; *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée—Chronique de Morée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§185, 221; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §§102, 207–8, 218; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 424, 434, 438, with comments in Lock (2001) 88–92.

[30] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.2472–625, 3667–94; *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§177–87, 277–8; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §§192–208, 257–61; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 433–4, 442. See also Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 79–80 and Lock (2001) 89–90.

the objective of these undertakings.[31] Certainly, desire not merely to domi-
nate regional politics in Greece, but to acquire renown and make a mark
within the wider international arena may be argued to have been the motiva-
tion behind Guillaume's decision to join the Seventh Crusade in 1249–50. The
Moreot contingent of four hundred hand-picked knights and twenty-four
galleys and vessels brought by Guillaume to Cyprus and Egypt appears to have
made a profound impression. Indeed, when, some months down the line, the
leader of the crusade, King Louis IX of France, wavered outside the walls of
Acre, deliberating whether he should stay or abandon the siege, he was
advised by his counsellors that the best means to secure victory was to recruit
more knights from the Morea.[32]

   If these years represented the apogee of the Principality of Morea, the state's
territories began to shrink as the result of concessions made after the defeat of
the army of Guillaume de Villehardouin at Pelagonia in 1259, and the
imprisonment of the Prince himself, together with many of his vassals, by
Michael VIII Palaeologus. The surrender of the three 'royal' fortresses of
Monemvasia, Maina, and Mistra, the price set by Michael VIII for the release
of his prisoners, gave the Byzantines a bridgehead which, following their
reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, they could exploit fully.[33] A contem-
porary who commented upon the situation conveyed the sense of an immi-
nent threat: 'Constantinople has been lost, and the Morea is bracing itself to
receive a rude shock . . .'.[34] The Peloponnese would never again be free from
conflict, for its territorial integrity had been compromised, and Franks and
Byzantines henceforth faced each other across the peninsula, their respective
power-bases, in the north-west and south-east, connected transversally by a
corridor traced by the riverbed of the Alpheios or Charbon. This natural route
for invasion became strewn in time with the sites of battles and skirmishes—

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[31] See the comments reported by Marino Sanudo Torsello, Ἰστορία τῆς Ρωμανίας,
ed. Papadopoulou (2000) 115.
[32] Marino Sanudo Torsello, Ἰστορία τῆς Ρωμανίας, ed. Papadopoulou (2000) 107; Jean de
Joinville, *La Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Corbett (1977) §§148, 427; *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed.
Heisenberg, rev. Wirth, vol. 1 (1978) 86–7 (§48).
[33] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.3464–4512; *Livre de la Conqueste de la
Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§254–328; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885)
§§248–89; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites
ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 440–8; *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, vol. 1, ed. Heisenberg (1978)
§§79–82; Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler and trans. Laurent, vol. 1 (1984)
I.30–1; Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, vol. 1, ed. Schopen (1832) III.5; Marino
Sanudo Torsello, Ἰστορία τῆς Ρωμανίας, ed. Papadopoulou (2000) 125, with comments in
Longnon (1949) 223–5 and 228–30, Bon (1969) 120–5, and Geanakoplos (1953).
[34] Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Zink (1989 | 90) 403 (vv.15–17): 'Constantinople est
perdue | Et la Morée se ravoie | A recevoir teile escorfroie . . .'. The original wording is cruder and
somewhat more explicit than the translation provided here might suggest.

Prinitsa, Sergiana, Macry Plagi, etc. The war was 'so bitter and bloody', according to one report, and the life-expectancy of the defenders of the Principality so short, that a single woman 'married, one after the other, seven men, all of whom met their death on the battlefield'.[35] Although the advance of the Byzantines was initially halted during the 1260s, the high cost of these Frankish victories in numbers of casualties created problems for the long term, as the ranks of the settlers, never numerous to begin with, ran the risk of being completely depleted.

It was this that led to the search for an external protector who could provide the Principality of Morea with the additional military support it needed. Attention turned to Charles d'Anjou, who, with the backing of the papacy, had recently succeeded in destroying the Hohenstaufen and seizing the Kingdom of Sicily and Southern Italy. The outcome of negotiations with this new ruler and neighbour was the signing, in 1267, of the Treaty of Viterbo. In exchange for aid, according to the conditions of that treaty, Guillaume de Villehardouin was, during his lifetime, to accept Charles as his overlord and agree to the marriage of Isabeau de Villehardouin, his eldest child and heir, to one of Charles's sons. At the death of Guillaume, the Principality together with its dependencies was to pass to Guillaume's son-in-law, or, if that son-in-law predeceased him without producing male offspring, to the Angevin crown.[36] By virtue of these terms, the demise when still childless of Isabeau's husband, Philippe d'Anjou, meant that the Ville-hardouin dynasty could be dispossessed, as indeed happened in 1278. After this date, King Charles I and his successor Charles II could claim to be not merely suzerains of the Morea, but its direct rulers.[37] Yet the natural heirs were in fact not so easily eliminated, and for another forty years first Prince Guillaume's daughter, Isabeau, and then his granddaughter, Mahaut, would

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[35] Marino Sanudo Torsello, Ιστορία της Ρωμανίας, ed. Papadopoulou (2000) 129: 'fu questa guerra in la Morea tanto acerba e sanguinolenta, che si sa per cosa certa che una donna si maritò a sette huomini un dietro l'altro, ché furon morti in questa guerra'.

[36] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.5922–6486; *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§415–55; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §§ 399–414; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 450–2; *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, vol. 1, ed. Heisenberg (1978) §§79–82; *Actes relatifs à la Principauté de Morée (1289–1300)*, ed. Perrat and Longnon (1967) 207–11; *Codice diplomatico del Regno di Carlo I. e II. D'Angiò*, ed. del Giudice, vol. 2 (1869) 30–44, with comments in Longnon (1949) 235–8 and (1942), as well as Bon (1969) 136–7.

[37] See, for example, the opening lines of a chancellery document edited in *Actes relatifs à la Principauté de Morée (1289–1300)*, ed. Perrat and Longnon (1967) 21: 'Charles [. . .] par la grace de Dieu rois de Jerusalem et de Secile, de la duché du Puille et du princié des Capes, prince de la Morée, d'Anjou, de Provence et de Folqualquier cuens'.

continue to be closely associated with their birthright.[38] Indeed, from 1289 to 1307, and again from 1315 to 1317, the heiresses resided in the Principality and themselves assumed its government. Their position, admittedly, became increasingly precarious, with the Angevins initially succumbing to pressure and agreeing to the reinstatement of the Villehardouin line, but then actively seeking their elimination, particularly after the women, in an attempt to bolster their independence, contracted marriage alliances. As a result of this, even while Isabeau and Mahaut were alive, but especially after their deaths, which took place abroad respectively in 1311 and 1331, the princely title and throne were disputed, with varying success, by a range of contenders. Some, but by no means all, of these individuals were relatives of the Villehardouin by blood or marriage.[39]

These events resulted in a change in the demographic of the Principality.[40] New groups of westerners arrived, often disembarking in the north-west Peloponnese, at the port of Clarence or Glarentza, which, bustling with activity, issued its own standards of weights and measures,[41] and had become one of the major entrepôts of the Mediterranean.[42] Inland, between the area controlled by the Franks and the Byzantines, an extensive frontier zone developed.[43] This zone remained unstable, for Palaeologan encroachment could not be stemmed, let alone reversed. An especially great blow came in 1320–1, when Andronicus Asen, the Byzantine commander, succeeded in seizing a string of castles, reducing the Principality to a rump of its former self.[44] The state's dependencies above the Isthmus or 'pass of Megara' had already been lost in 1311 to a company of Catalan mercenaries which had initially been recruited by the Byzantines, then changed sides, before striking out on its own.[45]

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[38] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.8473–9235; *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§586–1024; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §§447–635; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 465–8, with comments in Longnon (1949) 264–313 and Bon (1969) 164–97.

[39] Longnon (1949) 304–55, Bon (1969) 190–3, 199–221, 247–61, 265–75, and Furon (2004) 149.

[40] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.8653–866; *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§662, 848–53; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §§ 470, 583, 590, 600, 624–7, with comments in Longnon (1949) 315–16 and Bon (1969) 196.

[41] See Buchon (1845d) 98–103.

[42] Sarante-Mendelovici (1980–1).

[43] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.7200–1, 8191–2; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 462.

[44] *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) pp.404–5; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §§642–65; Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, vol. 1, ed. Schopen (1829) 362–3, with comments in Longnon (1949) 311 and Bon (1969) 202.

[45] Ramón Muntaner, *Crònica*, vol. 2, ed. Gustà (1979) 122–4 (§240); Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, vol. 1, ed. Schopen (1829) 251; 'Nuove lettere di Marino Sanudo il vecchio',

Trying to resist the onslaught was an extremely costly business. Of the castles not yet fallen to the enemy, many were used as surety in order to raise loans for defence requirements, with the result that, by 1364, more strongholds were in the hands of the Acciaiuoli family of bankers than continued to belong to the princely *desmesne*.[46] Such external aid as came from the West often consisted of inadequately provisioned troops, who were then forced to pillage and live off those they were supposed to be protecting.[47] As if Byzantine and Angevin demands were not enough, the Kingdom of Aragon, the Republic of Venice, and, finally, the Ottoman Turks, also began to exert pressure, bringing the wider conflict for supremacy of the Mediterranean to the locality.[48] In 1377, the Principality of Morea was temporarily leased to the military order of the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John, an indication of the extremity of the situation.[49] Nonetheless, although things seemed desperate, it would take another half century for the vestiges of the once flourishing state—the strongholds of Patras and Arcadia—to be surrendered by its last prince to the Byzantine Despotate of Mistra.[50]

A LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

On the eve of the Fourth Crusade, the lands of which the Villehardouin would soon be masters had been referred to by the Byzantines as the '*κατωτικὰ μέρη*' or 'southern regions' and their inhabitants as '*κατωτικοί*' or 'southerners'.[51] The

ed. Cerlini (1940) 352; *Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) v.7274, v.8010); *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§500, 548, p.402; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §509, §569; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 456, 461.

[46] Buchon (1845d) 110–13 and *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, ed. Hopf (1873) 227, with comments in Longnon (1949) 329–30.

[47] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.8492–569; *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§587–9; Hopf, vol. 1 (1867) 316, 317, 318, 320, with comments in Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 155.

[48] Bon (1969) 188, 190–3, 202–4, 222–31, 261–75, 282–93.

[49] *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §§724–6, with comments in Longnon (1949) 333 and Bon (1969) 253.

[50] Georgios Sphrantzes, *Cronaca*, ed. Maisano (1990) XXI; also Longnon (1949) 351 and Bon (1969) 292.

[51] *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, ed. van der Valk, vol. 2 (1976) 316: '*Διὸ καὶ κατωτικὰ τὰ καθ' Ἑλλάδα ὁ κοινὸς λόγος φησίν, ὡς κάτω κειμένων τῶν ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς*'; *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. Lambros, vol. 1 (1879) 307, 31: '*οἱ γειτονοῦντες ἡμῖν λοιποὶ κατωτικοί*' and '*ταῖς ἄλλαις τυχὸν χώραις τῶν κατωτικῶν*'; *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou (2001), 39, 57, 74, 108: '*πρὸς*

area constituted an imperial province extending 'from Tempe to Sparta' that was known as the *theme* of Hellas and the Peloponnese.[52] Despite suffering from the disruptions caused by the Slav invasions of the seventh and eighth centuries,[53] the economy of this *theme* may have begun to recover as early as the ninth century,[54] and was experiencing growth and prosperity on an unprecedented scale in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[55] Already in the reign of the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, the Peloponnese, by then an 'inner' territory remote from the frontier, had, according to one account, forty major settlements, of which Corinth, Argos, Lacedaemonia or Sparta, and Patras were the foremost.[56] Under this Emperor's successors, the peninsula was described as 'flourishing', with about fifty settlements of note, including sixteen or so main cities as well as numerous fortresses and large villages.[57] Of these, Corinth was identified as the most important, while Patras, Arcadia, Navarino, Modon, Coron, Maina, Sparta or Lacedaemonia, Monemvasia, and Argos were also singled out because of their size or renown.[58] The urban fabric of many of these settlements, together with that of Athens, Thebes, Evripos, and Karystos further to the north,[59] appears to have provided the possibility of a comfortable life-style. Helping make these locations attractive as places of residence was the existence of permanent markets.[60] Individuals could occupy their leisure hours by frequenting bath-houses,[61] by playing a game resembling polo called

τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἐμοὺς κατωτικοὺς ἀπεστάλη', 'ἐν τοῖς Κατωτικοῖς', 'παρὰ τῶν Κατωτικῶν', 'τοῖς Κατωτικοῖς'. See also Bon (1951) 159 and Avraméa (1997) 31.

[52] *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. Lambros, vol. 1 (879) 177: 'ἐκ τῶν θετταλικῶν Τεμπῶν μέχρι καὶ Σπάρτης'. See also Bon (1951) 92; Avraméa (1997) 31–8, 157; Armstrong (2002) 256.

[53] Bon (1951) 27–87 and Avraméa (1997) 53–108.

[54] Bon (1951) 42–7 and Harvey (1989) 214.

[55] The textual evidence analysed by Harvey (1982–3) 21–8 and (1989) has been confirmed by archaeological work in Methana, Nemea, Boeotia, Kea, Phokis, Laconia, and the north-west Peloponnese, as is illustrated by Bintliff and Snodgrass (1985) 149; Wright *et al.* (1990) 617; Mee and Forbes (1997) 98; Armstrong (2002) 400; Kourelis (2003) 86, 97, 99, 103.

[56] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, ed. Pertusi (1952) 90: 'πόλεις ἔχουσα τεσσαράκοντα· ἐξ ὧν εἰσιν ἐπίσημοι Κόρινθος μητρόπολις, Σικυών, Ἄργος, Λακεδαιμονία τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἡ πρὶν Σπάρτη, ἑτέρα μητρόπολις αἱ λεγόμεναι Πάτραι'.

[57] *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ed. Jaubert (1836) 124.

[58] Ibid. 124–5.

[59] See Herrin (1980).

[60] Evidence regarding markets can be found in the *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ed. Jaubert (1836) 125–6, while, for the residence of landowners and other notables in cities, see *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantine et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: Le Cadastre de Thèbes*, ed. Svoronos (1959) 11–12, 14–16 and the comments in Neville (1998) 225–6.

[61] See Neville (1998) 59, 62.

τζυκάνιον,[62] or by attending the meetings and feasts of religious confraternities.[63]

The wealth that rendered the pursuit of such diversions possible was derived from agriculture and manufacture. Goods suitable for export included thoroughbred horses, leather equipment, parchment, and iron weapons.[64] The two main commodities, however, were oil and textiles. The south Peloponnese had invested in the monoculture of olive trees to such an extent that this activity provided the local population with its main source of income.[65] Indeed, in the words of one twelfth-century observer, 'there is no place in the whole world where there are made such vast quantities of olive oil'.[66] By contrast, in the central and northern Peloponnese, as well as in Attica and Boeotia, communities specialized in various processes associated with the production of linen, wool, and, especially, silk, with attested professions including those of purple-fishers and dyers, of weavers and clothiers, and of tailors.[67] The reputation of these craftsmen was already such in the tenth century that the author of the *Vita Basilii*, when attempting to describe the magnificent gifts he claimed were made to the Emperor Basil I by Danielis, a fabulously wealthy widow from Patras, gave pride of place to the presentation by her not only of a hundred weavers but also of a large quantity of fabrics and garments made out of various yarns, including those spun of silk, mixed linen-wool, and pure linen, some of which were of a heavy weight while others were 'lighter than spiders' webs'.[68] The same widow is said to have later financed and oversaw the production of enormous carpets intended as a donation to an important religious establishment.[69] At Salonica in the twelfth century, the handiwork of 'Theban and Corinthian fingers' represented one of the most desirable luxuries on sale at the great annual fair of Saint Demetrius,

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[62] *The Life of Saint Nikon*, ed. and trans. Sullivan (1987) 136.

[63] Nesbitt and Wiita (1975).

[64] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. Reiske, vol. 1 (1829) 657; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Moravcsik (1967) 257.

[65] Ibid. 236.

[66] *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, A.D. 1169–1192, Commonly Known under the Name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. Stubbs, vol. 1 (1867) 199: 'et ibi erescit copia olivarum, adeo quod dicitur quod in toto mundo non est locus ubi mit [tanta] copia olei olivarum'.

[67] See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Moravcsik (1967) 256; *Michaeli Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou (2001) 222; Starr (1936); John Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, ed. Leone (1972) 101–3; *The Life of Saint Nikon*, ed. and trans. Sullivan (1987) 118; Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler (1907) 10, and, for comments, Jacoby (1991–2); Bon (1951) 128–31; Harvey (1989) 215; Kourelis (2003) 134–42.

[68] *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker (1838) 318: ʽὑπὲρ τὰ τοῦ ἀραχνίου νήματα εἰς λεπτότητα'.

[69] Ibid. 318–19: ʽνακοτάπητας'.

while at Constantinople *samites* and *sendals* of similar provenance were used for the ceremonial robes that clothed palace courtiers.[70]

Such prosperity had significant consequences for provincial society, leading as it did to the emancipation of a particular category of individuals. These were the *archondes*.[71] Constituting the eminent citizens and chief notables of the cities, these men dedicated themselves to the cares of public affairs, and took a keen interest in local politics.[72] Technically often holders of imperial offices or titles, the *archondes* nonetheless acquired a measure of independence through the strengthening of their power bases within the locality as a result of increases in the material resources available to them.[73] Indeed, although imperial administration attempted to maintain its prerogative to impose taxes,[74] it appears to have renounced the strengthening of fortifications, the maintenance of road-networks, and the provision of adequate water-supply, all tasks instead taken up by community leaders.[75] As a result, Constantinople lost control not only over some of the main aspects of government within the *theme*, but of actual sovereignty of entire geographical sections.[76] Symptomatic of the trend was the ability in the twelfth century of one *archon*, the father of Leo Sgouros, to become the *de facto* ruler or *dynast* of the city of Nauplion; his more famous son would go on to dominate, with some sort of private army, a region which at one point seems to have stretched from the Pass of Thermopylae to the Argolid.[77] Successes of a similar nature were apparently achieved by the Chamateros family in the southern Peloponnese.[78]

Thus, economic expansion rather than decline and stagnation can be said to have been behind the break-away tendencies already in evidence in provincial Byzantine society in the years leading up to the arrival of the crusaders.

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[70] See *Timarione*, ed. Romana (1974) 54: 'ὑφάσμασι καὶ νήμασιν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ὅσα ἐκ Βοιωτίας καὶ Πελοποννήσου'; *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou (2001) 69–70: 'τὰς ἀμπεχόνας ὑμῖν ἱστορογοῦσι Θηβαῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι δάκτυλοι'. Indeed, the textile industry was so highly prized that those who worked in it were not only granted exemption from certain types of taxation (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Moravcsik (1967) 256), but targeted by raiding parties bent on capture and enslavement (*Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. van Dieten, vol. 1 (1975) 73–6, 98).

[71] Angold (1984a) with, however, revisions in (2005).

[72] See *The Life of Saint Nikon*, ed. and trans. Sullivan (1987) 110, 228 and Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς: ὁ βίος του, ed. Sophianos (1993) 52, 54, 74.

[73] Angold (1984a) 237; Herrin (1975); Neville (1998, 2004); Harvey (1989) 266–7; and Jacoby (1991–2) 476–80.

[74] Herrin (1975) 282 and Neville (2004) 3, 65, 159.

[75] See Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985) 300–03, and the comments in Herrin (1975) 282 and Neville (1998) 60, 76–81, and (2004) 43.

[76] Herrin (1975) 269; Angold (1984a) 241–3, 258; Neville (2004) 46–7, 118, 159.

[77] Angold (1984a) 243; Lock (1995) 80.

[78] Magdalino (1977).

This coupling of regional wealth with weak central government meant that Greece, and the Peloponnese most particularly, presented an enticing prospect for westerners intent on self-advancement. It is indicative that Philippe de Rémi, a native of the County of Clermont writing in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, castigated in the prologue to his romance *Jehan et Blonde* those of his countrymen who were 'so overcome by lethargy that they know only listlessness and are unwilling to seek to better themselves and raise themselves up out of their misery' (vv.5–8).[79] People who 'stay at home with hardly the bare necessities for the preservation of life when, by emigrating, they could acquire honour, friends and riches' (v.9–13), deserve, according to de Rémi, not only to be despised (v.16) but to be actively punished (v.27)—for the wrong they commit both to themselves and to their kin by tarrying in their homeland is a great one.[80] No quarter should be given to the individual who maintains he does not know whither to betake himself (v.37), since such claims can have no basis when reports can be heard 'every day' of the 'dealings to be had with good men in the Outremer and the Morea' (vv.39–41).[81] It would seem from comments such as these that the fame of the Principality of Morea as a land of opportunity was one that spread rapidly in the decades immediately following its formation.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

The Fourth Crusade and its aftermath were hardly the first instance of contact between East and West. Greek wordlists composed for western travellers survive from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[82] One of these, copied in a manuscript originating at Mont-saint-Michel, teaches the words for 'horse', 'bed', 'house', 'clothes', and also a few expressions, such as how to ask for food ('da mihi panem da mihi piscem: *dosme psomi dosme opsarin*').[83] Another, from the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in Sens, lists salutations ('bonus dies

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[79] Philippe de Rémi, *Jehan et Blonde: Roman du XIIe siècle*, ed. Lécuyer (1984): 'aucune gent si preceuse | Qu'au mont ne sevent fors d'oiseuse | Ne ne beent a monter point | N'aus alever de povre point'.

[80] Philippe de Rémi, *Jehan et Blonde: Roman du XIIe siècle*, ed. Lécuyer (1984): 'Tex hom demeure a son hostel | Qui a grant paines a du sel | Que, s'il aloit en autre tere, | Il savroit assés pour aquerre | Honneur et amis et richece'.

[81] Philippe de Rémi, *Jehan et Blonde: Roman du XIIe siècle*, ed. Lécuyer (1984): '[. . .] cascun jor ot on retraire | C'on a de bone gen afaire Outre mer ou en le Mouree ou en mainte estrange contree'.

[82] Ciggaar (1996) 33.

[83] 'Give me bread, give me fish.' See Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale 236, fo. 97v.

tibi: *calos ymera si*'), requests for directions ('Ubi est via: *Po ne strata*?') and other simple and useful phrases.[84] The borders of the Byzantine Empire were permeable, and travel in the eastern Mediterranean before 1204 was a relatively normal occurrence.[85] Innumerable crusaders and pilgrims from all over Western Europe passed through the territory of Byzantium either on their way to Jerusalem or on their return voyage. Thus, Saewulf, who, heading out to the Holy Land in 1102, sailed from Patras to Corinth, recorded that he visited the shrines of Saint Andrew and Saint Lawrence, as well as the place from which the Apostle Paul was said to have preached, before continuing onwards overland 'to Thebes called *Stivas* in the common tongue' and the Negropont.[86] Similarly, Roger of Hoveden, returning from the Levant in 1191, jotted down, as he skirted the southern coast of Peloponnese, his impressions of the lofty mountains and impressive fortresses seen from the ship's deck, and reported hearsay regarding the character of the inhabitants.[87] Also attested as having made the journey East are ambassadors, mercenaries, merchants, artists, and scholars,[88] with twelfth-century commercial documents in particular providing numerous itineraries of voyages.[89]

Something of the multi-cultural atmosphere of the Byzantine capital under the Emperor Manuel Comnenus (1143–80) is apparent from the Epilogue to the *Theogony* of John Tzetzes. While describing a walk through the streets of Constantinople, Tzetzes shows off his linguistic and poetic skills by listing, among seven ways of addressing foreigners, various greetings and questions intended specifically for westerners. In a *tour de force*, the author, adhering throughout to his metre, transcribes the Latin phrases into the Greek alphabet, and gives their translation (vv.9–17):

> τῷ δὲ Λατίνῳ προσφωνῶ κατὰ Λατίνων γλῶσσαν
> καλῶς ἦλθες, αὐθέντα μου, καλῶς ἦλθες ἀδελφέ.
> βένε βενέστι, δόμινε, βένε βενέστι, φράτερ.
> πόθεν εἶσαι καὶ ἀπὸ ποίου θέματος ἦλθες;
> οὗνδε ἒς ἐτ δεκούαλε προβίντζια βενέστι;

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[84] 'Good day to you' and 'Where is the road?' See Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale 179, fos. 137v. ff.

[85] For the possibilities, see Horden and Purcell (2000) 123–72.

[86] *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodoricus*, ed. Huygens (1994) 59–60: 'ad Thebas, quae civitas vulgariter Stivas vocatur'.

[87] *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD 1169–1192, Known Commonly Under the Name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. Stubbs, vol. 2 (1897) 199. For the identification of the author of the *Chronicle* commissioned by Benedict as Roger of Hoveden, see Stenton (1953).

[88] Ciggaar (1996) 21–7.

[89] See *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII*, ed. Morozzo della Rocca, 2 vols. (1940) nos. 110, 137, 234, 235.

πῶς, ἀδελφέ, ἦλθες εἰς ταύτην πόλιν;
κομόδο, φράτερ, βενέστι ἰνίσταν τζιβιτάτεμ;
πεζός, καβαλλάριος, διὰ θαλάσσης, θέλεις ἀργῆσαι;
πεδόνε, καβαλλάριους, περμάρε, βὶς μοράρε;

To a Latin I speak in the Latin language:
'Welcome, my lord, welcome, my brother:
Bene venesti, domine, bene venesti, frater.
Where are you from, from which theme do you come?
Unde es et de quale provincia venesti?
How have you come, brother, to this city?
Q[u]omodo, frater, venesti in istan civitatem?
On foot or horseback, or by sea? Do you wish to stay?
Pedone, caballarius, per mare? Vis morare?'.[90]

The reputation of Constantinople as a cosmopolitan city, home to sizeable communities of westerners, was recognized not only by the Byzantines themselves, but also far more widely. Without ever having set foot in the East, the Welshman Walter Map, for instance, a near-contemporary of Tzetzes, saw fit to describe the Queen of Cities in the reign of Manuel as a place where there could be found many 'people whom the natives called Franks—foreigners from almost every nation' (p.178).[91]

A significant western presence is also recorded in the provinces of the Empire on the eve of 1204. A Jew from the Iberian peninsula, Benjamin of Tudela, who in the 1170s set down a report of the places and peoples he visited, appears to have gained on his travels more than a passing acquaintance with imperial territories. Among his observations concerning Greece is a mention that at Almyros, 'Venetians, Pisans, Genoese and other merchants are to be found and transact business' (p.11).[92] The mercantile activities in the eastern Mediterranean of the Italian maritime republics, and particularly of Venice, were considerable. In the late eleventh century, a *chrysobull* of Alexius I Comnenus had brought with it the right to trade with exemption from taxes for Venetians across the greater part of the Empire, including at Modon, Coron, Nauplion, Corinth, Athens, Thebes, and the Negropont.[93] These

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[90] Hunger (1953, repr. 1973) XVIII, translated in Kazhdan and Wharton Epstein (1985) 259–60.

[91] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. James and rev. Brooke and Mynors (1983): 'Erant autem in Constantinopoli manentes per Manuelis attractum quos Francos appellabant, ex <omni> fere nacione aduene'.

[92] Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. and trans. Adler (1907).

[93] For a discussion of the date (1082, 1084, or 1092) and content of the *chrysobull*, see Tuiler (1967); Tûma (1981); Jacoby (2002); Madden (2002); and Frankopan (2004).

privileges were subsequently renewed by the Emperors John and Manuel, and extended by the Angeloi.[94] Individuals who 'boasted Aquileia as their home-land' are noted to have taken up residence on imperial soil by a hagiographical work possibly composed as early as the eleventh century, the *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Νίκωνος μυροβλύτου τοῦ Μετανοεῖτε*, which refers to 'two brothers [...] who [...] moved to our city of Sparta for the sake of trade'.[95] Some five hundred commercial documents confirm that, by the 1130s, Venetians were settling in earnest in towns in mainland Greece and the Peloponnese, where they invested considerable capital.[96] Although luxury goods, such as woven silks, were exported from Attica and Boeotia,[97] the majority of traders appear to have dealt in olive oil and other agricultural products.[98] Contract notes, for instance, show that Italians resident in Sparta acted on behalf of Venetian corporations, assessing the value of the crop in the autumn of each year and setting a price, then calling upon the stock when instructions arrived from headquarters.[99] Merchant communities of sufficient size to support a Catholic monastery or church are recorded at Thebes, Corinth, and Sparta.[100] In these and other places, westerners not only owned property, but on occasion acted as landlords to local Greeks.[101]

If visitors and settlers from the West were a customary sight both in Constantinople and in the Byzantine provinces, the Fourth Crusade nonetheless transformed matters fundamentally. The revolution was of a political nature. Although the Byzantine Empire had begun already to disintegrate in the twelfth century, this process of fragmentation was greatly intensified by the conquests made by the crusaders, and by the ensuing occupation.[102] The activities of Venetian merchants in earlier years had called for purely economic and social intercourse with local inhabitants, and temporary or even permanent residence had had little bearing on the position of westerners as aliens; if anything, their foreign status had been emphasized by the award of commercial and judicial privileges specific to them.[103] A change of regime, by

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[94] Lock (1995) 136–42.
[95] *The Life of Saint Nikon*, ed. Sullivan (1987) 250: 'Δύο τινὲς ὁμαίμονες κατὰ σάρκα, τὸ μὲν γένος Λατῖνοι, πατρίδα δὲ αὐχοῦντες τὴν Ἀκουϊλίαν, ἄρτι τῇ καθ᾽ἡμᾶς χώρᾳ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἐγχωριάσαντες ἐμπορίας χάριν'.
[96] Martin (1988) 209.
[97] Martin (1988) 212.
[98] Angold (1984b) 198, Martin (1988) 212 and Ciggaar (1996) 212.
[99] Amstrong (2002) 361–3, 382.
[100] Angold (1984b) 198 and Schreiner (1979) 179.
[101] Martin (1988) 211.
[102] Lock (1995) 5; Angold (1975) 9 and (1984) 309.
[103] Jacoby (1973) 873.

contrast, occurred with the Fourth Crusade, since the army which took Constantinople assumed power both there and in the provinces. As a result, relations between westerners and the indigenous population needed to be redefined and a pattern of permanent coexistence devised. This was especially important because the composition and character of the conquerors, their descendants, and the Latins who joined them, meant that, far from being restricted to the mercantile classes, the incomers included groups previously largely absent. Thus, in the Peloponnese, the invasion was carried out by an essentially landed nobility with origins, for the most part, in the County of Champagne. These individuals brought with them a reliance upon homage, vassalage, and highly developed concepts of feudalism.

QUASI NOVA FRANCIA

Writing between 1325 and 1328 about the Principality of Morea, the chronicler Ramón Muntaner insisted upon the nature of its aristocracy as being French. The settlers, he asserted, had succeeded for over a century in keeping their blood pure, their customs intact, and their language untainted. According to Muntaner, the rulers and other men of standing in the Morea were renowned everywhere for their chivalric ethos, spoke 'French as beautiful as in Paris', and married only women who belonged to 'the very best houses of France' or, at the very least, were descended from 'noble knights of France' (§261).[104] Statements such as this drew upon a long-standing tradition. Already in 1224, within a generation of the conquest of Constantinople, Pope Honorius III had declared that there had been created 'practically a New France' in the Latin Empire, or, as it was called then, the Empire of Romania, the loose group of western-occupied territories established in the wake of the diversion of the Fourth Crusade (pp.250–1).[105] Again in 1262, following the recovery of Constantinople by the Byzantines, similar sentiments were echoed in the description by the *trouvère* Rutebeuf of a largely francophone and French-identifying eastern Mediterranean world under threat (vv.13–96).[106] In the *Complainte de Constantinople*, Rutebeuf, invoking in the same breath not only Jerusalem, Antioch, and Acre, but also Cyprus,

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[104] Ramón Muntaner, *Crònica*, vol. 2, ed. Gustà (1979): 'axi bell frances com dins en Paris' (although it should be noted that, in a manuscript variant, the language of the Morea is compared to the French not of Paris, but of Acre); 'han haudes mullers dels millors casals de França [. . .] non prenien mullers, si donchs de cauallers de França no auallayen'.

[105] *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 2, ed. Pressutti (1895) item 5006.

[106] Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Zink (1989 | 90) 403–17.

Constantinople, and the Morea, speaks of these places as lands which belong to Frenchmen and whose fate remains the concern of the Kingdom of France.[107] All three remarks imply the transplantation of political organization and social structures from the homeland, and the wholesale recreation of a familiar environment in the territories of conquest.

The authors of these remarks were, however, outsiders to the situation they purported to describe. What is more, they were addressing themselves primarily to an audience that was based not in the eastern Mediterranean, but rather in western Europe, often specifically in the court of the Capetian monarchs of France. The evidence from within the lands acquired during and shortly after the Fourth Crusade suggests, as we shall see, a more complex, and, at times, strikingly different, story. The survival of the polities founded by the crusaders was predicated upon their capacity for continuous transformation and renewal. Certain forms of accommodation between conquerors and conquered occurred, while further influxes of westerners brought fresh fighting power to the region. The newcomers, generally of a provenance rather dissimilar to the original conquerors, tended to establish themselves at the expense of the older elites. By the fourteenth century, ties with France, although not dissolved, were in the process of being worn thin.

THE *CHRONICLE OF MOREA*

Our main narrative source for the conquest and occupation of the former provinces of the Byzantine Empire is the *Chronicle of Morea*. The source comprises a detailed account of the creation and government of the Principality of Morea. This material is preceded by a prologue, which, in the majority of the manuscripts, describes the beginnings of the crusading movement and gives a summary of the events surrounding the Fourth Crusade, the fall of Constantinople, and the establishment of the Latin Empire. The main narrative opens with the crusader campaign in the Peloponnese, and outlines the role played in this initial phase of conquest by Guillaume I de Champlitte, before turning to an account of the elevation to the leadership of Geoffroy I de Villehardouin, and of the foundation of the ruling dynasty. The reigns of Geoffroy II and Guillaume II, the two sons of Geoffroy I, are both recounted. Next, reference is made to the government of the Principality by a series of *baillis*, after which an account is given of the reign of Isabeau de Villehar-

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[107] Ibid., v.33.

douin, first jointly with her second husband, Florent de Hainault, then as sole ruler, and, finally, in some of the manuscripts, jointly with her third husband, Philippe de Savoie. The narrative continues even further in one manuscript, to cover the abdication of Philippe and death of Isabeau, and the war of succession that followed. Also related in this manuscript is the invasion and conquest by the Catalans of the Duchy of Athens, while particular attention is paid to the campaign of the Byzantine general Andronicus Asen in the central Peloponnese, and to the unsuccessful Latin counter-campaign. Subsequent events are dealt with more rapidly, with the exception of the very last episode, that of the leasing of the Principality of Morea to the Knights Hospitaller, which receives detailed treatment.

The importance of the *Chronicle of Morea* for our understanding of the fortunes of the crusader states in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean has long been acknowledged, with the work being repeatedly perused and evaluated in order to extract the information embedded in it. This emphasis has inevitably led to a focus on the reliability or otherwise of the work's content, with certain passages being valued for their veracity and others rejected as inexact. One of the passages to receive condemnation is that dealing with the marriage of Geoffroy II de Villehardouin.[108] According to the *Chronicle*, the occasion for this marriage arose when two galleys which were bearing the daughter of the Emperor Robert of Constantinople and her entourage to Aragon chanced to break their journey by calling in at the port of Pontikokastro or Beauvoir in the Peloponnese. Upon learning of the arrival of the lady, Geoffroy, who had already succeeded his father as lord of the Morea and was residing in the vicinity, made haste, the *Chronicle* states, to meet her and receive her at his castle as his guest. Then, when the time came for the ships to set sail again, the young lord, persuaded by his counsellors that a match between him and the lady would be to the advantage of his lands and people, pleaded his suit to her through the mediation of two courtiers, and was accepted. Initially, this union, we are told, was not to the liking of the Latin Emperor, but matters eventually resolved themselves, and Robert, granting his new son-in-law a dowry, accepted the *fait accompli*. A comparison of this account of events with that offered in another source suggests that the *Chronicle of Morea* gives misleading impressions regarding both the date of the marriage and the identity of the participants, getting things wrong at a number of points.[109] Of the errors committed, the most glaring is that of an anachronistic

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[108] *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.2472–625; *Livre de la conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§177–87; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §§192–208; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 433–4.

[109] *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. de Mas-Latrie (1871) 392.

reference to negotiations for a marriage alliance between the rulers of the Latin Empire and of the Kingdom of Aragon. Marital policy involving these two parties would have made little sense and brought few benefits in the context of international diplomacy almost a century before the actual intrusion of the Aragonese in the politics of the eastern Mediterranean.[110]

Other examples could be added to this one.[111] To sift, however, in this somewhat fixated manner for the nuggets of truth in the *Chronicle* among the dross of falsehood is to miss the point, for there is rather more to be learned from medieval histories than the raw facts they contain. Merely labelling certain passages as inaccurate or misinformed is to ignore the possibility that there may be a rationale behind the 'errors'. In the case of the representation of the episode of the marriage of Geoffroy II, for instance, the liberties taken, such as the misdating of the event or the introduction of unattested characters, result in a story that, at the time of the *Chronicle*'s composition, could be counted upon to be more aesthetically pleasing and relevant to a potential readership than the unadulterated version. Generally, the persons responsible for the production of medieval histories did not simply pick up a quill and ramble on in a random fashion until they had either run out of material, or been forced by death or some other external circumstance to cut short their task. Their works, in addition to being repositories of data, were also consciously devised compositions dependent upon a series of textual strategies. By focusing upon these strategies, and by examining their nature and function, we can succeed in conjuring up forgotten societies in the act of shaping and defining themselves. These societies can be observed even as they struggled with their obsessions and anxieties, undergoing successive metamorphoses, and re-interpreting their past over and over again in a constant quest for alternative presents and futures. It is a glimpse of one such society of notable richness and complexity that is afforded us by the *Chronicle of Morea* if we are willing to read it for what it is. Yet, despite the obvious gains, no attempt has been made until now to interpret the work as historiography.

Composed locally in the fourteenth century, and subsequently rewritten many times, the anonymous *Chronicle* survives in eight manuscripts in four languages: Greek, French, Aragonese, and Italian. Much of its interest lies in the distinctive features of these different manuscript versions. As the first appreciation of the *Chronicle* was continued through further receptions, the

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[110] See, however, Wolff (1954) for the role played by Castile.

[111] See, for example, *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt (1904) vv.2756–874; *Livre de la conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) §§189–97; *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885) §§210–12; 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 435–6, where the fall of Corinth is placed several decades after the actual event.

fluid and dynamic nature of transmission made the active intervention of the audience a precondition of the work's continued life. Each new version can be shown to represent a revised horizon of expectations. The analysis undertaken here seeks, initially, to gain an understanding of the contexts within which the *Chronicle* was composed and circulated. Once this has been achieved, the reactions of the work to changes in its literary and material environment are then examined. It becomes possible to isolate the principles of selection and presentation that underpinned its various manifestations. In turn, this examination of the resources and pressures which conditioned the evolution of the work deepens our knowledge of the Principality of Morea itself. Often inadvertently or perhaps even deliberately misleading with regard to dates and facts, the *Chronicle* is nonetheless a unique document of the mixed society that created it—a precious relic of a particular discourse and particular mind-set of the late Middle Ages. The emergence of a new type of historiography in the eastern Mediterranean can be shown to have been the correlative of the development in a number of territories of something akin to a primitive sense of nationhood, with the early *Chronicle* both reflecting and itself contributing towards the elaboration of a unique Moreot identity in which Greeks and Latins could equally have a share. Yet, the narrative offered in its pages was also one that invited reinterpretation by competing interests external to the Peloponnese. The successive translations and adaptations of the *Chronicle* bear witness to the complexities of the cultural, social, and political interaction of the Crusader States with the outside world.

The first part of this study (Chapters 1–3) presents the extant manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea*, considers their relationship with one another, and discusses internal evidence for the work's development. The *Chronicle*'s sources are identified and the material contexts in which the work was shaped and transmitted are traced. The specific case is demonstrated to exemplify a general trend: chancellery archives, medieval inventories of library collections, together with individual codices, show that many other texts either travelled east to the Peloponnese only to be re-exported in a changed form, or originated there and were subsequently disseminated more widely. These preliminary findings provide the foundation for an analysis of the interplay between influence and originality in the cultural production of the eastern Mediterranean. Part Two (Chapters 4–7) investigates the aesthetic preoccupations of the *Chronicle of Morea*. Important insights can be gained from an exploration of aspects of narrative technique, with emphasis being put on the role played by traditions of literacy and orality. As we discover similarities and differences between the *Chronicle* and preceding and contemporary texts, our knowledge is enhanced of the stylistic trends which the work incorporated or reacted against. Part Three (Chapters 8–11) delineates the ethos of the

Chronicle, before going on to compare that ethos with the ideological positions occupied by other historical writings, with particular weight being given to the manner in which identity is constructed within each text. In this context, it becomes relevant to consider the social function performed by historiography. A careful perusal of the Greek, French, Aragonese, and Italian manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea* reveals precious information regarding the political desires and aspirations of those behind the processes of creation and revision. Indeed, certain fundamental conclusions can be drawn regarding the motivation not only of the original work, but also of its subsequent versions.

The experience of reading the different versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* side by side is a truly fascinating one, but it cannot always be achieved at first hand by everyone as some of the texts are not readily accessible. As a way round this potential difficulty, a selection of appropriate material (Selected Passages) has been provided at the end of this present volume. Twelve representative passages from the *Chronicle* have been chosen to illustrate the similarities and differences between the various language versions, and then presented in parallel columns in the tongues in which they were written, as well as in a modern translation. You are invited to turn to these pages, and browse at will, sampling whatever you choose. Perhaps the way to think of it is as a wine-tasting, where one observes a variety of results produced by the same grape—results that depend upon the soil in which the fruit was grown, the abilities of the wine-maker, and the expectations of the market.

A visitor to the north-west Peloponnese may, on his travels, get to see one of the most intriguing inscriptions of the late Middle Ages. A broken slab, measuring less than a metre in height and width, carrying a decoration of peacocks and palm trees in the Byzantine style, is bordered by the words: '+ Ici gist madame Agnes iadis fille | dou despot kiur Mikaille . . . '.[112] This grave cover is from a tomb erected in 1286 or shortly afterwards at the church of Saint James for Anna Doukaina, rechristened Agnès, who was the daughter of the Byzantine Despot of Epirus, Michael II, and the third wife of Guillaume II de Villehardouin, Prince of Morea. In the twenty-first century, the physical remains of the crusades continue to mark the landscape and to accumulate in the museums of Greece. As is also true in the case of these ruins and artefacts, the appreciation of the writings of the crusader period has suffered from what

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[112] 'Here lies the Lady Agnes, formerly daughter of the Lord and Despot Michael . . . '. See Bon (1957) and (1969) vol. 1, 590–1 and vol. 2, plate 21; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985) 317–18 and plate XV; Cooper (1996) 34.

has been described as 'unacceptable chauvinism'.[113] Initially framed according to nineteenth-century concerns—those of French colonialism in the Near East on the one hand, and of the struggle for self-definition by the newly created modern Hellenic state on the other—the debate regarding the effects of western occupation upon the late medieval eastern Mediterranean has yet wholly to shake off that legacy.[114] At the beginning of it all had been the disembarkation of the *Expédition scientifique de Morée* in 1829. The mission upon which this group of archaeologists, artists, and scientists was engaged represented the second of three undertakings within the Mediterranean, all of which reflected, even if in varying degrees, imperialist aspirations. Thus, the first mission accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte to Egypt in 1798, while the third was sent to Algeria in 1839.[115] The *Expédition de Morée* itself, which was associated with a military campaign and funded by the French State, was under an official remit to explore and study the peninsula, observing, measuring, classifying, sketching, and recording everything that might be of interest—or of use.[116] Its report on the architecture, sculptures, inscriptions, and topography of the Peloponnese attests, as do other ancillary writings, to a certain insistence upon seeking out, describing, and drawing medieval monuments in particular, an emphasis admitted by the leader of the investigative team, Bory de Saint-Vincent, to be the result of the realization that claims could be advanced that the land under study constituted a place which preserved the traces 'of the glory [. . .] of our ancestors'. [117] Out of this, an entire tradition of primarily francophone scholarship developed in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which concerned itself with what were referred to as 'the baronies of our crusaders'.[118] Tours of the sites were carried out by travellers according to itineraries declared to have a character that was 'entirely national', and, when these initiatives gave way to the more institutionalized practices of the *École française d'Athènes*, excavations occurred in specific locations chosen precisely because they were considered capable of giving Frenchmen cause for pride.[119] These activities, initiated shortly after the War of Independence of 1821, understandably provoked a strong reaction in Greece itself. Unable to deny the reality of the era of the crusades outright, but considering that era to have contributed to centuries of

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[113] Manoussacas (1952a) 78.

[114] Particularly influential were Gidel (1866) (1878) and Voutierides (1933).

[115] See Bourguet *et al.* (eds.) (1998) and (1999).

[116] See, for example, Bory de Saint-Vincent (1836) 290, 304, 337 or Blouet (1831) vi–vii and, for comments, Yakovaki (1999) 197, 205–8.

[117] Blouet, 3 vols. (1831–8); Bory de Saint-Vincent (1836) 411–12.

[118] Buchon (1943) v–vii and, for comments, Kourelis (2003) 52.

[119] Radet (1901) 292 and, for comments, Kourelis (2003) 52 and (2004) 46–8.

oppression out of which their enslaved people had only recently succeeded in emerging in order to acquire their liberty and forge their own state, Greek writers turned for a remedy to literature, and in particular to historical fiction. A gallery was in consequence fabricated of medieval heroes and martyrs who were made to participate in episodes depicting appropriate acts of resistance against foreign dominion; thus, suicide as a fitting response to conquest formed the subject of Ὁ αὐθέντης τοῦ Μωρέως, a novel by Alexandros Rangaves, as well as being the central theme in the plays Μαρία Δοξαπατρῆ and Τὰ τέκνα τοῦ Δοξαπατρῆ, respectively by Demetrius Vernadakes and Sophocles Karydes.[120] Self-avowedly seeking to foster patriotic ideals, these writings, which were intended as a body of fiction suitable for consumption by staunch citizens, not only won prize after prize in competitions judged by the Academy of Athens but enjoyed especially long runs at the nascent National Theatre.[121] Indeed, their resonance was such that, in the 1930s, the artist Kontoglou, commissioned by the dictator Ioannes Metaxas to paint, for the official residence of the Mayor of Athens, a series of friezes showing the deeds of ancient, medieval, and modern heroes, would draw inspiration from these works,[122] while, as late as the 1950s, Athenian school-teachers were in the habit of declaiming extracts from them in history classes. Set against the backcloth of these older sensibilities, the analysis of the *Chronicle of Morea* offered in the pages that follow here will—it is hoped—contribute to the rather more measured approach that has begun to develop in recent years.

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[120] Alexandros Rizos Rangaves, Ὁ αὐθέντης τοῦ Μορέως (1989) 248; Sophocles Karydes, Δράματα: Τὰ τέκνα τοῦ Δοξαπατρῆ (1876) 62; Demetrius Vernadakes, Δράματα, vol. 1 (1903) 123.

[121] Demetrius Vernadakes, Δράματα, vol. 1(1903) η′, ις′, ιζ′, ιθ′, κη′, ξδ′, ξθ′, οα′; Sophocles Karydes, Δράματα: Τὰ τέκνα τοῦ Δοξαπατρῆ (1876) Ἀφιέρωσις'.

[122] In the same spirit was Kontoglou, Ὁ Καστρολόγος (1987), a project for a book left unfinished at the artist's death, the notes for which were published posthumously.

Part I

Composition, Transmission, and Reception

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The Versions

'This is the *Book of the Conquest of Constantinople, the Empire of Romania, and the Land of the Principality of Morea* that was found in a book formerly belonging to the noble baron, Sir Bartolomeo Ghisi, the Grand Constable; which book he had in his castle of Thebes.'[1] These words, which form the title of the sole manuscript of the French version of the *Chronicle of Morea* (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 15702), have been characterized as containing the 'only real information' available to us regarding the early history of the *Chronicle*.[2] The 'castle of Thebes' ('chastel d'Estives') referred to should be identified with the Frankish castle of Saint-Omer-les-Thèbes, an especially important stronghold situated within the Duchy of Athens, and one that changed hands on a number of occasions.[3] These transfers of ownership of Saint-Omer-les-Thèbes, together with the dates when they occurred, are of significance in determining the precise period by which a text of the *Chronicle* had come into being. Probably built by a close kinsman of the Dukes of Athens, Nicolas II de Saint-Omer, using the fabulous wealth derived from his first wife, Marie d'Antioche, the castle had been the seat of the Saint-Omer family until the Catalan Company's destructive arrival on the scene in the early fourteenth century.[4] This Company, a powerful group of mercenaries hired by the Duke of Athens, Gautier V de Brienne, in order to protect his interests, had quickly grown dissatisfied with the conditions of its employment, and consequently, in 1311, rebelled and took up arms, not only killing the Duke himself and many of his vassals in a battle fought at the mouth of the Almyros river, but seizing the lands of the vanquished for its own.[5] After the battle, Saint-Omer-les-Thèbes, as was appropriate given its key strategic position and its particularly well-appointed ceremonial and residential

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[1] 'C'est le livre de la conqueste de Constantinople et de l'empire de Romanie, et dou pays de la princée de la Morée, qui fu trové en un livre qui fu jadis del noble baron messire Bartholomée Guys, le grant connestable; lequel livre il avoit en son chastel d'Estives.'

[2] Rodrigues, vol. 1 (1996) 61.

[3] Bon (1937) 188–91; Loernetz (1975) 152, n. 4; Setton (1975) 39–41, 49.

[4] Hopf (1873) 477.

[5] Jacoby (1974) 223–30.

quarters, came to be awarded to highly prominent members of the Company—in 1314 to Gui de Montauban and then, in 1317, after Montauban's death, to Alfonso Fadrique d'Aragon. It was with the marriage in 1326/7 of a daughter of Alfonso Fadrique, the Captain of the Company, into the Ghisi family, that Bartolomeo II Ghisi, the Grand Constable of the Principality of Morea and the individual named in the manuscript title, may have come in turn to possess the castle. He, like his immediate predecessors, could, however, have enjoyed ownership of it for only a brief period, since by 1331/2 at the latest the Catalans had destroyed Saint-Omer-les-Thèbes so that it would not be used by their enemy Gautier VI de Brienne, who was the son of Gautier V and the claimant to the Duchy by hereditary right, as a base for military operations against them.[6] This series of facts means that the book of the *Chronicle of Morea* could have been kept at Saint-Omer-les-Thèbes by Ghisi only from 1326/7 to 1331/2. It would appear, therefore, that the *Chronicle* must have already come into being in some form or other by the end of the 1320s or beginning of the 1330s.

This information, however, regarding the *Chronicle* should not be accepted without further investigation. At the very least, it should be pointed out that Bartolomeo Ghisi lived for a considerable time after the destruction of the castle, until 1341, and could have acquired a copy of the *Chronicle* at any date before his death. Indeed, the association of the work with Thebes need not reflect its actual material presence there, but merely the fact of Ghisi ownership. Anchoring a work by referring to a source-text from a precise geographical location is a deeply suspect strategy in medieval French vernacular literature. Spurious references to sources are a common feature of many *chansons de geste*, where they appear to be connected to oral tradition and the practices of *jongleurs*.[7] For instance, in the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, deliberate mention of fictitious eye-witnesses, charters, and annals is made in order to add a patina of age to the text under construction (vv.2095–8),[8] while the same pattern is found in *Joufroi de Poitiers*, where a Latin book is alleged to have existed in the church of Saint Peter at Maguelonne (vv.2324–31),[9] and also in *Baudouin de Sebourc*, where mention is made of a book, again in Latin, supposedly kept in the monastery of Saint Amand de Bruges (vv.325–6).[10] Such eagerness to invent authorities passed even into prose-writing, as is

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[6] The Catalans' fears appear to have been justified, for Ghisi gave his approval to their excommunication by the archbishop of Patras in February 1332 and indeed declared openly for Gautier de Brienne in the summer of that year. See Jacoby (1968b) 133–89.

[7] Faral (1964) 179–83.

[8] *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Whitehead and Hemming (1993).

[9] *Joufrois: Roman français du XIIIe siècle,* ed. Streng-Renkonen (1930).

[10] Labande (1940) 68–9.

illustrated by the allusion in the *mise en prose* of the *Roman de Troie* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 1612) to an imaginary source in Greek housed at Saint Paul's in Corinth which was then translated into French.[11] The castle of Saint-Omer-les-Thèbes seems almost too appropriate a place with which to associate the *Chronicle of Morea*, for it was, as we are told later in the French version of the work, 'the richest and most beautiful manor in all Romania' ('le plus beau et riche manoir de toute Romanie', §554), built with the dowry of a renowned crusader princess. According to a manuscript of the Greek version (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Fabricius 57), moreover, the great hall of Saint-Omer-les-Thèbes was decorated with murals celebrating the glories of the conquest of the Holy Land by the Franks (vv.8080–5). Because of its reputation, Saint-Omer-les-Thèbes would have been an obvious choice for a redactor or copyist seeking to authenticate a text dealing with the crusader territories in Greece. All the more so since the razing of the castle would have rendered it impossible for readers to confirm the accuracy of the statement.

Given this, additional indications regarding the characteristics and date of the original of the *Chronicle of Morea* must be sought. The *Chronicle* survives in versions in four different languages—in Greek, French, Italian, and in a language or dialect from the Iberian Peninsula which has been identified as fundamentally Aragonese but may also contain some elements of Castilian.[12] The Greek version was known to scholarship already in 1610, when Meursius used it for entries in the first edition of his *Glossarium Graecobarbarum*.[13] With Buchon's discovery and publication of the French version in 1845,[14] however, the question of the original, and in particular of the language thereof, came to the fore.[15] Since then, the relationship between the versions has continued to form the subject of debate. A number of solutions have been suggested concerning the transmission of the *Chronicle*: that the extant French version is a translation and *mise en prose* of the Greek; that the Greek is derived from the French version, which itself is based on an earlier text; that both are independent abridgements of an original, now lost, which

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[11] Shawcross (2003) 137.

[12] For the argument regarding the Castilian features of the text, see Hodcroft (1962–3) and Mackenzie (2002).

[13] Longnon (1911) li.

[14] *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies. Le Livre de la conqueste de la princée de la Morée publié pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit de la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne à Bruxelles, avec notes et éclaircissements. Première époque: Conquête et établissement féodale de l'an 1205 à l'an 1333,* ed. Buchon (1845a).

[15] For a survey of early scholarship on the subject, see Makres (2005).

may have been either in French, or in another language, such as Italian or even Provençal.[16]

Here the matter is reconsidered, beginning with an examination of each of the individual manuscripts. By comparing the manuscripts to one other, the existence of a lost original is revealed to be an unavoidable postulate. From points of similarity between the manuscripts, the characteristics of their common ancestor begin to emerge.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

In total, there are eight extant manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea*. Five of these are in vernacular Greek, while the French, 'Aragonese', and Italian versions are each represented by a single exemplar.[17] Of the different versions,

[16] The most recent defence of the Greek version has been made by Jeffreys (1975b), but earlier comments are also found in: de Loray (1880) 217–21; Schmitt (1904) xxxii; Kalonaros (1940) xi. Conversely, for the priority of the extant French text, see Jacoby (1968), but also the brief statements in: Buchon (1845a) xxv; Spadaro (1959) (1960) (1961) and (1965); Lurier (1964) 58; Mitsakis (1983); Rodrigues, vol. 1 (1996) 53–78. The existence of a lost French original was first upheld in Ellissen, vol. 2 (1856) xxi–xxvii, and accepted by: Morel-Fatio (1885) lvi–lviii; Aerts (1990) 134; and Egéa (1988) 117. The theory of a lost Italian original was proposed by Longnon (1911) lxxvi, but found acceptance only with: Bees (1917) and Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 17. No support has been given to the theory of a Provençal original in verse, proposed by Kalonaros (n.d.) 12. An agnostic position has been adopted by: Hopf (1873) xii; Adamantiou (1901) 669; Palles (1964) 31; and Topping (1965).

[17] All except the Italian version of the *Chronicle* have received more than one critical edition. For the Greek, see: *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies. Βιβλίον τῆς κουγκέστας et autre poème inédit suivi du code diplomatique de la princée de Morée, publiés pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de Copenhague et de Venise, et les archives de Florence, Naples, Corfu, Céphalonie, etc. Première époque. Conquête et établissement féodal, de l'an 1205 à l'an 1333*, ed. Buchon (1845b); *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises pendant le XIIIe siècle*, ed. Buchon (1875); *The Chronicle of Morea (Τὸ χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως), A History in Political Verse, Relating the Establishment of Feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the Thirteenth Century, Edited in Two Parallel Texts from the MSS of Copenhagen and Paris, With Introduction, Critical Notes and Indices*, ed. Schmitt (1904); *Τὸ χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, ed. Kalonaros (1940); *La crónica de Morea: estudio preliminar, texto y traducción*, ed. Egea (1996). For the Italian, see: 'Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea', *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. Hopf (1873) 414–68. For the French, see: *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies. Le Livre de la conqueste de la princée de la Morée publié pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit de la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne à Bruxelles, avec notes et éclaircissements. Première époque: Conquête et établissement féodale de l'an 1205 à l'an 1333*, ed. Buchon (1845a); *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée—Chronique de Morée*, ed. Longnon (1911). For the 'Aragonese', see: *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea compilado por comandamiento de Don Fray Johan Ferrandez de Heredia, maestro del Hospital de S. Johan de Jerusalem (Chronique de Morée au XIIIe et XIVe siècles publiée et traduite pour la première fois*

Bern, Burgerbibliothek or Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie, Cod. 509	=P2
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 15702	=B
Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Fabricius 57	=H
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 10131	=Arag.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2753	=P3
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2898	=P
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B. II. I (LXVI)	=T
Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Mss. Italiani Classe VII Cod. 712 coll. 8754	=Ital.

all are in prose bar the Greek, which is written in lines of fifteen syllables known as πολιτικὸς στίχος or political verse.

The Greek Version   (Plates I–V)

The earliest of the manuscripts in Greek of the *Chronicle*, MS Fabricius 57 of the Kongelige Bibliothek of Copenhagen (=H) can be dated to the late fourteenth century.[18] Although painstakingly written, with letters in red ink marking the beginning of individual lines, it is in rather bad condition. The first three leaves have been lost and the first extant folio (4r.) is quite damaged and difficult to read. Moreover, the text goes right to the bottom of the final folio (237v.), where it breaks off abruptly, suggesting that a number of pages may also be missing from the end. To be classed with H is a second manuscript in Greek, MS B. II. I (LXVI) of the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria of Turin (=T), dating to the sixteenth century. Although T preserves more of the beginning of the Greek version of the *Chronicle* than is currently the case with H, it is composed in a later form of medieval Greek and constitutes a deteriorated text.[19] The remaining three Greek manuscripts represent a separate family. Of these, MS gr. 2898 (=P), housed in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, dates to the sixteenth century and contains, in addition to the *Chronicle*, a translation in vernacular Greek of Boccaccio's *Teseida*.[20] Less important are MS 509 of the

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pour la Société de l'Orient Latin, ed. Morel-Fatio (1885); *Juan Fernández de Heredia's Aragonese Version of the Chronicle of Morea*, eds Luttrell and Mackenzie (forthcoming). In the present analysis, the editions by Schmitt, Hopf, Longnon, and Morel-Fatio have been used. It should be noted that, although the numbering of the paragraphs in Longnon's edition is defective (the numbers 282, 481, 676, 721, 1010 each correspond not to one but to two paragraphs, while the paragraph numbers 484, 631, 995, 1011 are entirely missing from the sequence), his original numbering has been preserved here for the sake of convenience.

[18] Jacoby (1968b) 149; Schartau (1994) 384–5.
[19] Schmitt (1904) xviii, xxx.
[20] Jacoby (1968b) 159, n.113.

Burgerbibliothek or Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie in Bern (=P2) and MS gr. 2753 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (=P3), both copies of P made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively.[21]

With the exception of H and T, where the beginning of the poem is missing, the manuscripts of the Greek version or *Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως* cover events from the First Crusade onwards, and end suddenly in the year 1292, mid-way through narrating the reign of Florent de Hainault, who was Prince of Morea or Achaia from 1289 to 1297. The last folios of T and P offer content that bears some resemblance to that found towards the end of H (231v.–237v.), although the narrative is not taken quite as far. Thus P contains no equivalent to the final one hundred lines of H, giving instead a disjointed but lengthy episode concerned with the adventures of Geoffroy II de Briel (228v.–232v.), which, in H, had already been narrated considerably earlier (209v.–218v.). T, for its part, plucks individual lines from here and there, which it then proceeds to order in seemingly random fashion (128r.–129v.), with little attention to sense, so that the text becomes increasingly garbled before running out of steam mid-sentence.

The Italian Version   (Plates VIa–b)

The Italian version (=Ital.), or *Istoria della Morea*, is found on folios 25r.–47v. of the MS Ital. Classe VII Cod. 712 coll. 8754 in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, a codex dated to the eighteenth century,[22] where it is immediately preceded (1r.–25r.) by a copy of the Italian translation of Marino Sanudo Torsello's *Istoria del regno di Romania*, the Latin original of which does not survive. The text of the *Chronicle* given in Ital. can be shown to be a summary made from the Greek version. Confirmation of this is provided by the presence of certain narrative episodes,[23] as well as by the use of specific toponyms, such as that of 'Clomuzzi', derived from '*Χλουμούτσι*' rather than 'Clermont', which was the name given to the place in French.[24] Additional evidence exists in the form of the occasional errors of translation that were committed. In the phrase 'a Miser Luca de Serpi fu dato il loco ditto Laco

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[21] Andrist (2007) 218–20.

[22] Hopf (1873) xv.

[23] Compare, for example, pp.434–5 and vv.2640–720 of the printed Italian and Greek texts with §§187–8 of the French.

[24] See pp.434–5 of the Italian text. It is significant that the alternative names of the same location were, in the Romance languages, 'Clermont' and 'Castel'Tornese'. Other examples of the transliteration of toponyms from the Greek include: 'Arcova', p.462; 'Peloponeso', p.422; 'Mega-ïrato', p.456.

Grisco',[25] for instance, the name 'Luca de Serpi' appears to be a corruption of a passage in the Greek that actually refers not to a single person, but to two distinct individuals ('Οὖγκος [. . .] ντὲ Τσερπηνή' and 'μισὶρ Λούκα').[26] Certain features of the Italian version suggest that the translator worked from a text very similar to the Greek T, indeed possibly that very manuscript.[27] The existence of lacunae is explicitly noted in the extant manuscript (e.g. 'Manca un foglio', fo. 47r.),[28] such comments being attributable either to the frustrations of the individual responsible for the translation, or, as is more probable, to the diligence of a scribe making a copy of the finished result at a later stage.

The French Version   (Plates VIIa–b)

The sole manuscript of the French version or *Livre de la conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, MS 15702 of the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels (=B), was copied, apparently with care, at the end of the fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth, from a highly lacunose manuscript that is now lost.[29] B opens with a linear table (1r.–5r.), the first entry of which refers to the sack of Jerusalem by the participants in the First Crusade ('Pour recordence a tous ceaux qui sont et qui a venir seront, que, a mil .ciiij. ans puis la resureccion de Nostre Dieu Jhesu Crist, fu la conqueste dou tressaint sepulcre de Jherusalem') and the last to the capture of a series of castles in the Peloponnese by the Byzantine commander Andronicus Asen ('si prinst [. . .] Assaigni le chastel de Mathegriffon, Poliphant, et puis Caraitaine et autres chastiaux que li traÿtor qui les gardoient vendirent a cellui Assaigni').[30] The main events listed concern the Empire of Constantinople, and more especially the Principality of Morea. Although references are made to events

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[25] See p.428 of the printed Italian text ('to Sir Luca de Serpi was given the place called Lake Grisco').

[26] 'Hugues de Charpigny' and 'Sir Luke'. See vv.1941–4 in the printed edition of the Greek text.

[27] The content of Ital. follows that of one of the HT family of the Greek *Chronicle*. Of the two manuscripts belonging to the family in question, Ital. agrees more closely with T, which dates from the sixteenth century and may have been taken to Italy in 1586. In particular, the beginning (p.414) and end (p.468) of Ital. correspond to that of T (v.57 and v.9115), while the same lacuna is found at p.438 of Ital. and v.3151ff. of T. For this issue, see Hopf (1873) xlii; Adamantiou (1901) 575 n.1, 580–2; Jacoby (1968b) 159.

[28] 'There is a folio missing.'

[29] Buchon (1845a) xiii; Longnon (1911) lxxxv; Jacoby (1968b) 150.

[30] 'Let all those who are alive and those who are yet to be born remember that in the year 1104 after the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ the conquest of the Most Holy Sepulcre of Jerusalem occurred'; 'so [. . .] Asen took the castles of Mattegriffon, Polyphengos, and then Karytaina and other castles were sold to this Asen by the traitors who were guarding them'.

that occurred as late as 1333, material postdating the year 1320 is both extremely restricted and disrupts the correct chronological sequence, for it is found in a note inserted between the entries for 1316 and 1319.

It is beneath this table, on folio 5v., that one finds the beginning of the *Chronicle* proper: 'C'est le livre de la conqueste de Costantinople, et de l'empire de Romanie, et dou pays de la princée de la Morée'.[31] The manuscript then provides a narrative which goes up to the year 1304, but ends with a comment regarding the incomplete nature of the exemplar from which the scribe was copying: 'Tant com j'ay trové, tant j'ay escript de ceste conqueste de la Morée.' (181r.).[32] The scribe acknowledges two other lacunae as being due to the absence of folios in the manuscript he was using ('Cy endroit faillent .ij. feulles. Pour ce j'ay leissiée l'espace', 36v.; 'Cy endroit fault bien .vj. feulles, la ou parole du revel de l'Escorta, qui contre le prince Guillerme fu, et se rendirent au frère de l'empereor, au grant domestico. Si ay leissié le espace', 63r.).[33]

The 'Aragonese' Version   (Plates VIIIa–b)

The 'Aragonese' version or *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del Principado de la Morea* has come down to us in MS 10131 (=Arag.), housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España at Madrid. In contrast to the other manuscripts, which are more modest in appearance and have no explicit indication of patronage, this is a sumptuous illuminated copy executed for a named patron, the Grand Master of the Knights of Saint John of the Hospital, Juan Fernández de Heredia. The first page, fo. 183r., is dominated by what appears to be the coat of arms of Heredia at the bottom centre, while the identity of the patron is confirmed in the *explicit* on fo. 266r., where the date of completion is also given, as Thursday, 24 October 1393 ('Aquesti *Libro de los fechos & conquistas del principado de la Morea* fue fecho & conpilado por comandamiento del muyt reuerent en Christo, padre & senyor, don fray Johan Ferrandez de Heredia, por la gracia de Dios maestro del Hospital de Sant Jehan de Jherusalem; & fue conplido & acabado de escriuir digous a .xxiiij. del mes de

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[31] 'This is the *Book of the Conquest of Constantinople, the Empire of Romania, and the Land of the Principality of Morea . . .*'.

[32] 'As much as I found of this conquest of the Morea and in the condition in which I found it, this I have written.'

[33] 'Here two folios are missing. For that reason I have left space'; 'Here six folios are missing, which told of the inhabitants of Escorta, who rebelled against Prince Guillaume and took the side of the brother of the emperor, the Grand Domestic. Therefore, I have left this space'.

octubre en el anyo de nuestro Senyor M.CCC.XC. tercio', p.160).[34] Beneath the *explicit* one reads the colophon of the scribe, Bernard de Iaqua ('Bernardus est dictus qui scripsit, fit benedictus. | De Iaqua vocatur qui scripsit, [fit] benedictus. Amen.', p.160), who is also known from another text, the copying of which he completed on 5 March 1393, the *Libro de los emperadores que fueron en Grecia*, a partial translation of the Byzantine historian Zonaras.[35] At present, the two texts are bound together in a single volume, with the *Libro de los emperadores* preceding the *Libro de los fechos*; however, the original bindings were different, suggesting that the translations of Zonaras and of the *Chronicle of Morea* may not have been commissioned as a single unit.

Heredia's manuscript of the *Chronicle of Morea* begins in 1200 and not, as in the Greek, French, and Italian versions, with the First Crusade. It ends with the death, in 1377, of Daniel del Carretto, who was sent to take possession of the Morea in the name of the Hospitallers upon its leasing by Queen Jeanne of Naples to that Order.

Their Relative Status

Of the eight surviving manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, four have been demonstrated to be only of secondary interest for the exploration of the work's early history. Thus, while P2, P3, T, and Ital. are descendants of the Greek version, the manuscript tradition of that version is better represented by H and P. For this reason, it is H and P, together with B and Arag., which need to be considered further. Yet, even among this more restricted group no manuscript can claim to preserve with complete accuracy the text of the original *Chronicle of Morea*. The case of B is the clearest, because the opening lines of that manuscript declare its status, revealing it to be an abridgement of a longer work: 'Pour ce que aucunes gens sont par le monde moult negligent, et lor annuye de auir une longue estoire ordonnéement faite et devisée, et ayment anchois que on leur conte en briez paroles, si vous diray mon compte, non pas ainxi com je trovay par escript, mais au plus brief que je pourray.' (§1).[36]

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[34] 'This *Book of the Deeds and Conquests of the Principality of Morea* was made and compiled upon the orders of the most reverend in Christ, priest and nobleman, don Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia, by the grace of God Master of the Hospital of Saint John at Jerusalem; and the writing of it was finished and completed on Thursday, the twenty-fourth of the month of October of the year of our Lord 1383.' It should be noted that the date given here must in some respect be incorrect, since the 24th fell on a Friday that year. See Jacoby (1968b) 160.

[35] 'He who wrote this was named Bernard. May he be blessed! | He who wrote this was called De Iaqua. May he be blessed! Amen.' The translation is of books fifteen to eighteen of Zonaras.

[36] 'And because there are some people who are inattentive, and easily bored by listening to a long story that is composed and set out in strict order, preferring instead that matters be

H and P, for their part, do offer a more detailed narrative than is found in B, often recounting at great length an episode that B presents in only a single paragraph (e.g. H/P vv.1912–67 and B §128). Even so, neither of the Greek manuscripts can physically be the text behind B.[37] It is true that H is revealed to be closer than P to the French version. If we compare, for instance, the manner in which establishment of a military alliance between Theodore of Neopatras and Michael VIII Palaeologus is described in the three manuscripts (B §214–16 and H/P vv.3102–12), we find that the phrasing in B generally accords with H rather than with P (e.g. 'Quir Thodre [. . .] ala vers l'emper-eor Quir Michailly Paleologo', B §§214–15; ʽἐδιάβη ὁ κὺρ Θεόδωρος ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν, | στὸν κὺρ Μιχάλην, σὲ λαλῶ, τὸν μέγαν Παλαιολόγον', H vv.3102–3; ʽἐδιέβη ὁ κὺρ Θεόδωρος ἐκεῖ στὸν βασιλέαν, | εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινόπολιν, στὸν μέγαν Παλαιολόγον', P vv. 3102–3).[38] Moving from issues of phrasing to more substantial matters of content, we find a similar situation. Thus, where both H and B give us the location of a public assembly (B §516 and H v.7518), no such precisions are found in P; conversely, remarks in P (vv.7811–8) regarding the inadvisability of having female offspring have no equivalent in either H or B. Indeed, a total of forty-three passages can be identified where B and H are in agreement with each other, but disagree with P.[39] However, it should be

recounted in brief words, I will henceforth tell you my tale not as I have found it written, but as briefly as I can.'

[37] The derivation of B from H, proposed in Makres (2002), and based on a limited analysis of three passages from the manuscripts, cannot be accepted.

[38] 'Kyr Theodore [. . .] went to the Emperor Kyr Michael Palaeologus', 'Kyr Theodore went to the Emperor | to Kyr Michael, I tell you, the great Palaeologus' and 'Kyr Theodore went to the Emperor, | there in Constantinople, the great Palaeologus'. See also: 'lui recomanda tout son ost pour ce qu'il deust guerroyer contre le despot son frere' (B §215), ʽ. . . τὰ φουσσᾶτα [του]τοῦ ἔδωκεν νὰ τὰ ἔχῃ εἰς ἐξουσίαν του | νὰ μάχεται [. . .] Δεσπότην τὸν ἀδελφόν του' (H vv.3108–9) and ʽ. . . τὰ φουσσᾶτα τοῦ ἔδωκεν νὰ τὰ ἔχῃ εἰς ἐξουσίαν, | νὰ μάχεται, δικάζεται μὲ τὸν Δεσπότην Ἄρτας' (P vv.3108–9); 'Et quant le despot vit que Quir Thodre son frere estoit ainxi revelés contre lui . . .' (B §216), ʽΚαὶ ὡς εἶδεν τὴν πληροφορίαν ἐτότε ὁ Δεσπότης, | τὸ πῶς τὸν ἐρροβόλειψεν <κὺρ> Θεόδωρος ὁ 'ἀδελφός του . . .' (H vv.3111–12) and ʽΚαὶ ὡς εἶδεν τὴν πληροφορίαν ἐτότε ὁ Δεσπότης | τὸ πῶς τὸν ἐρροβόλειψεν αὐτὸς ὁ ἀδελφός του . . .' (P vv.3111–12). Translations: 'he put his entire army at his disposal because he needed to make war against the Despot his brother', 'he gave him his armies to command | in order to fight [. . .] the Despot his brother' and 'he gave him his armies to command | in order to fight [. . .] the Despot of Arta'; 'And when the Despot saw that Kyr Theodore his brother had rebelled against him', 'And when the Despot learned | that Kyr Theodore his brother had rebelled against him', and 'And when the Despot learned | that his own brother had rebelled against him'. The passage is discussed in Makres (2002) 402.

[39] There are thirty-nine passages where B and H contain material that P does not (H v.480 and B §31; H v.545 and B §38; H vv.991–2 and B §67; H v.1087 and B §71; H vv.1465–7 and B §96; H v.1680 and B §110; H v.1989 and B §129; H v.2257 and B §152; H vv.2609–20 and B §185; H vv.3086–136 and B §213; H vv.3151–73 and B §219; H vv.3183–4 and B §221; H v. 3365 and B §241; H vv.3537–613 and B §§265–71; H v.3698 and B §279; H vv.4088–91 and B §305;

noted that five passages also exist where B and P agree against H.[40] This forces us to conclude that, in certain respects, H and P are both defective manuscripts.

Manuscript Arag. contains a narrative that is often briefer than H or P, briefer even than B: episodes are given in a more condensed form (e.g. H/P vv.902–1029; B §§60–7; Arag. §52), or, sometimes, omitted altogether (e.g. H/P vv.1316–32; B §87).[41] What is more, events can be ordered differently (e.g. H/P vv.1841–87 and 1912–67; B §§122–6 and §128; Arag. §§117–34).[42] Finally, Arag. appears less true to the sources of the *Chronicle of Morea* than do H, P, or B.[43] For example, whereas a list of fiefs given by H, P and B preserves the content of a document dating to the 1220s,[44] in Arag. the same passage combines this information with anachronistic references. Indeed, whereas H, P, and B are closely related to each other, Arag. can be characterized as a distinct and even new work, in which the processes of rewriting and revision have been carried further than in any of the other versions. Yet, although Arag. should be treated with caution, this manuscript does transmit a number of passages otherwise present in H and P although not in B (e.g. Arag. §217 and H/P vv.2640–720; Arag. §296 and H vv.4336–42), or, conversely, absent from H and P but present in B (e.g. Arag. §§86–8 and B §86). Although this could be attributed to the creation of this particular version at a time when other multiple versions of the *Chronicle* already existed which

H vv.5231–2 and B §357; H vv.5431–81 and B §§375–9; H vv.5540–3 and B §382; H vv.5551 and B §382; H vv.5772–5 and B §401; H vv.5851–934 and B §§408–17; H vv.6216–8 and B §435; H v.6629 and B §463; H v.6631 and B v.464; H vv.6663–74 and B §466; H vv.6725–7 and B §470; H v.7518 and B §516; H v.7568 and B §519; H vv.7724–5 and B §529; H v.8043 and B §551; H vv.8110–473 and B §555; H v.8335 and B §376; H vv.8346–8 and B §578; H v.8604 and B §590; H vv.8677–85 and B §598; H vv.8708–800 and B §§602–7; H vv.8895–6 and B §623; H v.9055 and B §633), and four passages where B and H do not contain material found in P (P vv.5379, 5390, 5379, 7811–18).

[40] There are three passages where B and P contain material not in H (P vv.5521–54 and B §§363–5; P vv.5595–635 and B §§385–9; P vv.6143–4 and B §432), and two passages where H contains material not in B and P (H vv.1013, 2612).

[41] Other passages omitted in Arag. include: H/P vv.1–111 and B §§1–4; H/P vv.535–60 and B §§38–9; H/P vv.1205–62, 3950–059 and B §§77–81, 209; H/P vv.1223–62 and B §§80–1; H/P vv.3142–72 and B §§218–19; H/P vv.5710–38 and B §§396–7; H/P vv.5922–6240 and B §§415–38; H/P vv.6265–486 and B §§441–56; H/P vv.6487–677 and B §§456–73; H vv.7203–32 and B §§496–7; H/P vv.7836–939 and B §§538–43; H/P vv.7940–54 and B §544.

[42] See also: H vv.1030–79, B §§69–72 and Arag. §§59–61; H vv.1205–125, B §§77–80 and Arag. §§53–58; H vv.2801–8, B §192 and Arag. §§101, 105–6; H vv.1430–41, B §93 and Arag. §107; H vv.1841–67, B §§122–5 and Arag.§136; H vv.1968–2016, B §§129–31 and Arag. §§137–40; H vv.2156–65, B §§140–1 and Arag. §§148–9; H v.3050–132, B §§209–16 and Arag. §235; H vv.7305–752, B §§502–31 and Arag. §§384–96; H vv.5440–7101; B §§475–89 and Arag. §§399–409; H vv.6472–86, B §§455–6 and Arag. §§410–14; H vv.8001–55, B §§548–51 and Arag. §452.

[43] Jacoby (1968b) 165.

[44] See Chapter 2, below.

could be compared with each other and utilized, certain elements suggest that the content of Arag. does not rely simply on what we ourselves can read today in the various manuscripts. There are passages unique to Arag. which would *not* have been out of place in H, P, or B, the narrative of which they seem to complement. Of note is the episode in Arag. outlining an unsuccessful attempt, by a Byzantine commander, to make the Frankish baron of Kary-taina, Geoffroy de Briel, doubt the loyalty of the native Peloponnesian *arch-ondes* or lords who were in his service (Arag. §§312–31). The events described take place in the marches, and not only indicate the depth of the attachment of the local population to the person of Geoffroy, but also testify to that knight's outstanding capabilities as a warrior, as well as to his pivotal role from early on in the defence of the Principality of Morea against foreign aggression, all elements that are asserted—without, however, justification being provided—later on in other of the extant manuscripts of the *Chronicle* (e.g. H and P vv.5686–95, 5747–9, 5794–8; B §§394, 399, 404).[45]

These findings suggest that the redactors of the different versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* may have had access to a more complete text of the work than has survived.

THE COMMON ANCESTOR

Although the extant manuscripts cannot be identified with the original text, these manuscripts do provide information of great value in reconstructing the creation and development of the *Chronicle.*

Content

There are clues in the manuscripts regarding the scope of the historical period originally covered by the *Chronicle of Morea.* As has been indicated above, the most truncated manuscripts, H and P, end in the year 1292. The last reference in B to the unabridged book on which that version is based also concerns the same year (B §798).[46] Nonetheless, in the section of the *Chronicle of Morea* given by B but not by H or P, use of one of the documentary sources to which

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[45] Although it should be acknowledged (see Chapter 2, below) that the episode appears to have been derived ultimately from a heroic poem or tale concerning de Briel which may, of course, have continued to circulate independently, it seems improbable that the redactor or redactors of Arag. themselves drew directly from that source.

[46] Jacoby (1968b) 181.

the chronicler had recourse, the *Assizes of Romania*, can be shown to continue (e.g. B §§852–3, 856–61, and 961) in a manner corresponding exactly to that which characterizes earlier portions of the narrative shared by all three manuscripts,[47] a fact which implies that the *Chronicle* initially covered events at least to the date at which B breaks off, namely 1304.

Indeed, from the chronological table found in B, and also from the evidence in Arag., it can be deduced that the original extended even further, into the third decade of the fourteenth century. The table in B, which appears to be a summary of the *Chronicle*, provides a list of events in strict chronological order up to the year 1320 ('a mil .iij^{c}xx. ans', p.405).[48] Arag., moreover, displays a marked variation in narrative pace. In contrast to §§514–668, which cover the first quarter of the fourteenth century and where Arag. appears well informed, the period from 1329 to 1364 is dismissed in only a few paragraphs (§§669–89), and it is only with the years 1364–77 that events are once more related in some depth (§§690–726). This variation would be explained if the text of the *Chronicle of Morea* had concluded at some point in the 1320s, leaving the redactor of Arag., whose task it was to update his source so as to include an account of the establishment of the Hospitallers in the Peloponnese, with a narrative gap filled by him only with great difficulty.

Hence, the *Chronicle* may have included an account similar to that transmitted by Arag. of the departure of Philippe de Savoie in 1304 and the arrival of Philip of Taranto in 1307 (§§514–21); of the defeat of Gautier V de Brienne by the Catalan Company in 1311 (§§548–51); of the expeditions of Ferrando de Mallorca and Louis de Bourgogne (§§556–625); of the refusal of Mahaut de Hainault to marry John of Gravina, followed by her disinheritance in 1322 (§§626–35); of the Byzantine expedition of 1320, under Andronicus Asen (§§641–54); and even of the unsuccessful counter-attack led by Niccolò Sanudo in 1325–6 (§§662–8).[49]

Dating

Connected to the coverage of the *Chronicle of Morea* is the issue of the date at which the work was originally put together. The attention to detail observable in the account of the last decades of the thirteenth century and first years of the fourteenth, together with the almost complete absence of any identifiably independent written source for this section, may be taken as signs that the events being related were near-contemporary or contemporary to the

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[47] See Chapter 2, below.   [48] Jacoby (1968b) 146.
[49] Jacoby (1968b) 141–6, 169–70.

chronicler. The same appears to apply from 1304 to the mid-1320s. It should be noted, too, that the *Chronicle* is especially familiar with the central Peloponnese or Escorta and with north Messenia, suggesting a connection with that geographical region. The majority of toponyms included in the manuscripts refer to places along the course of the Alpheios or Charbon river. Thus, the names are indicated of castles and other strongholds in the Escorta (H/P vv.1921, 7200, 8323; B §§128, 495, 575), as well as those of mountain ranges and individual mountains (B §821 and §§927–8) and also of the passes that form the best way through from Tsakonia in the south-east to the plain of Elis in the north-west (H/P vv.4576, 4709, 5022, 5046, 5049, 5333, 5357; B §§332, 339, 364, 367). Moreover, the Greek version of the *Chronicle* bothers to mention details such as the 'extremely fine spring' at Moudra, while the French version elsewhere notes that Prince Florent de Hainault set up his siege camp at Saint George 'where the chestnut trees are, next to the spring' (H/P v.5304; B §818).[50] These references may indicate that the chronicler was either a native of the central Peloponnese or alternatively had been posted there for a considerable period of time. If this is correct, then his contact with the region probably occurred before 1320, while it was still under Frankish control. Because the final passages of the *Chronicle* appear to have been concerned with the loss in 1320 of a string of castles in the Escorta to the Byzantines, and with the Frankish counter-attack of 1325–6, it may be that the work was begun as a direct response to these events and that one of its purposes was to galvanize the inhabitants of the Peloponnese into a better defence of the region.[51]

Suggestive though such hints are regarding the beginnings of the *Chronicle*, a complication arises here, because the first draft to be produced of the work should not necessarily be equated with the latest single text from which all the extant manuscripts are descended—namely the common ancestor. The most recent date shared by H, P, B, and Arag. is provided by a narrative digression referring to the death of the Duke of Naxos, Niccolò Sanudo (B §550; H and P vv.8032–9; Arag. §452). Since Sanudo is known to have been alive in the winter of 1325/6, when he led the campaign against the Byzantines, but to have died by July 1341, when his successor, Giovanni Sanudo, is recorded enfeoffing Marcolino Sanudo and Bertucio Grimani with the islands of Milos and Siphnos,[52] this sets the *terminus post quem* as 1326/41. A second passage,

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[50] 'πανώραιαν βρύσιν' ; 'la ou sunt li chastegnier, encoste la fontaine'.

[51] For the issue of the motives behind the composition of the *Chronicle*, see Chapter 11.

[52] Hopf (1856) 260. However, it should be noted that the document was written on 4 October 1486, almost a century and a half after the supposed date of the enfeoffment, a circumstance which puts its accuracy into question.

that alluding to the destruction of Saint-Omer-les-Thèbes by the Catalans in order to prevent it from being used by their enemies, is absent from Arag., but can, however, be found in an aside within the main text of H, P and B (H/P vv.8080–92, B §554). Although not datable with any degree of certainty, this event must have occurred after 1317, when the castle can be demonstrated to have been bestowed upon Alfonso Fadrique d'Aragon, and before 1332, the date at which Gautier VI de Brienne acknowledged his campaign in Greece to be a failure, and, abandoning his ambitions to reconquer the Duchy, returned to Italy, a circumstance that provides us with a supplementary *terminus post quem* of 1317/1332.

Other indications regarding dating appear to apply only to the texts contained within the individual manuscripts. Thus, the main narrative of B comments upon the death of Philip of Taranto (§86) in 1331/2, while the chronological table alludes to John of Gravina's divestment of the Principality, to its transfer to the sons of Philip of Taranto in 1332, and to the dispatch by their mother and regent, Catherine de Valois, of a *bailli* to the Morea in 1333 ('A mil .iijᶜ xxxij. ans, le mois de decembre, la premiere indicion, après la mort dou prince de Tharante pour ce que li princes Jehans ne daigna faire homage a son nepveu messire Robert, le fil dou prince de Tharante, de qui il devoit tenir la prince de Achaye, si eschangierent avec l'empereÿs la femme dou dit prince de Tharante; et prist la duchyé de Duras, et acquita la princée d'Achaye aux hoirs de son frere. Et a .ij. jours d'avril après celle indicion, vint a Clarence messire Guays Romane de l'Escale, et reçut la princée pour l'empereys et ses hoirs', p.405).[53] Furthermore, B refers to the Empress Catherine de Valois, who died in 1346,[54] as still living ('ores s'appelle empereys', §86).[55] These dates give a *terminus post quem* in this case of 1333 and a *terminus ante quem* of 1346. Manuscript H, for its part, designates Erard le Maure as 'Lord of Arcadia' ('τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἀφέντην', v.8469) in a genealogical aside without going on to indicate the man's demise, a fact which gives us a *terminus post quem* of 1338, the year Erard acceded to the barony, and a *terminus ante quem* of either 1388, when he died, or 1345, when he received the higher title of Marshal of Morea, not mentioned in this passage; due to a reference elsewhere

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[53] 'In the month of December of the year 1332, in the first *indiction*, after the death of the Prince of Taranto, because Prince Jean did not deign to do homage to his nephew Sir Robert, the son of the Prince of Taranto, from whom he ought to have held the Principality of Achaia, they made an exchange with the Empress and wife of the aforesaid Prince of Taranto; and [Jean] took the Duchy of Dyrrachium, and surrendered the Principality of Morea to his brother's heirs. And on the second of April after this *indiction*, Sir Gui Romane de l'Escale went to Clarence and received the Principality for the Empress and her heirs.'

[54] Longnon (1949) 322–7.

[55] 'Who is now called Empress.'
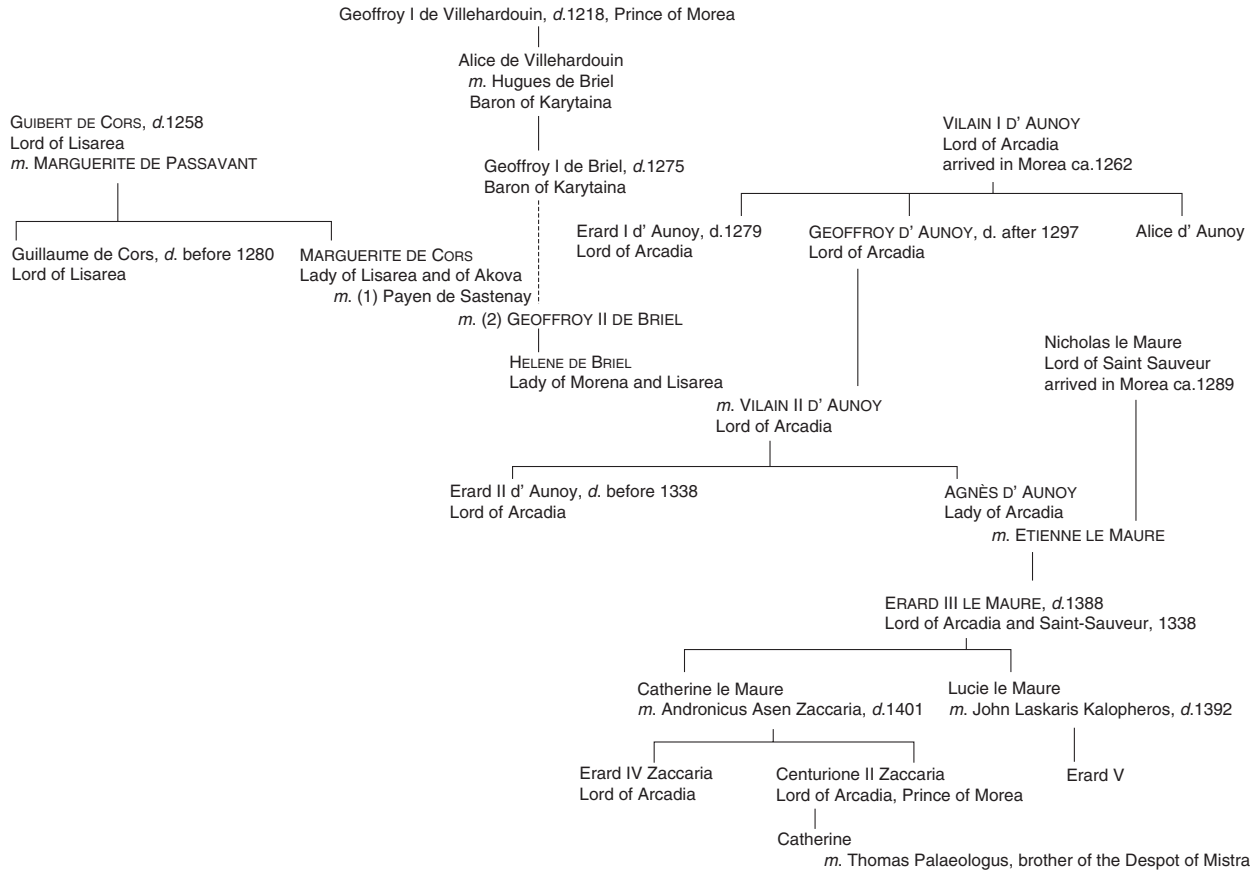
Genealogical Table 2. Patronage of the *Chronicle of Morea*: The Le Maure and their Kin
Drawn by the author ©Teresa Shawcross

in the manuscript to Gautier VI de Brienne, who died in 1356, as still alive ('τὸν λέγουσιν Γατιέρην', v.8088), the *terminus ante quem* can be further refined to 1345/56.[56] P, by contrast, includes a lament for the death of Erard le Maure ("Ὅλοι τὸν μνημονεύετε, καλὸς ἀφέντης ἦτον', v.8473), and consequently its text has as *terminus post quem* the year 1388.[57] Finally, Arag. refers or alludes to the deaths of Daniel del Carretto ('micer fray Daniel fue malauto & murió', §726) and of King Frederick III of Sicily ('Antonia [. . .] fue casada con el rey [. . .] de Cicilia'), giving us here a *terminus post quem* of 1377.[58]

It would appear that the core of the *Chronicle of Morea* had started to exist by approximately the middle years of the 1320s. Its anonymous author was active during the last decades of the thirteenth century and the first decades of the fourteenth, and an eyewitness of many of the events he described. After the work's inception, a further stage of initial elaboration may have followed; it is conceivable that this stage extended over several years, perhaps as long as two decades (*c*.1326–*c*.1346). Whether responsibility rested with one and the same hand cannot be determined with certainty. Given the truly gigantic scale of the project, however, a lengthy period of authorship and the concomitant circulation of several autograph drafts remain distinct possibilities. Of the manuscripts now in existence, it is B and H that can be identified as containing the oldest texts.

Patronage

The connection of the *Chronicle of Morea* with a particular aristocratic house can be established. All the manuscripts of the *Chronicle* display a preoccupation with the d'Aunoy. Thus, H and P note with care the arrival of Vilain I d'Aunoy in the Morea in 1262 after the fall of Constantinople (vv.1325–7). They also use a document concerned with the barony of Akova (vv.7673–92), a portion of which barony had passed as dowry to the Aunoy.[59] B insists upon the diplomatic mission of Geoffroy d'Aunoy to Constantinople (B §§702–51)

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[56] Hopf (1873) 472; Jacoby (1968b) 139.

[57] 'All of you remember him [in your prayers], for he was a good lord.'

[58] 'the Reverend brother Sir Daniel fell ill and died'; 'Antoinette [. . .] who had been married to the King [. . .] of Sicily'. Arag. also contains the reference to Erard (§446) found in H, as well as that to Catherine de Valois (§87) found in B; the passage referring to Erard describes him as still living, while that referring to Catherine has been updated to include not only the death of the Empress but the names of two generations of her descendants (§§86–8). We should not make too much of this fact, however, since the creation of Arag. was, as we shall see later (Appendix), characterized by recourse to multiple pre-existing versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* by the redactor or redactors who then compared and selectively utilized the information in front of them.

[59] See Chapter 2, below.

and upon the resulting return to Geoffroy, as a grant for his services as the Prince's envoy, of the castle of Arcadia, which had formerly belonged to the Aunoy but had escheated to the Prince with the death of Geoffroy's brother, Erard I d'Aunoy. Particularly striking is the fact that B, H, and P repeatedly embark on genealogical asides which concern the d'Aunoy (e.g. H/P vv.3270–9 and B §233; H/P vv.7213–300 and B §§499–500; H vv.8001–55 and B §§548–51; H/P vv.8452–69/73 and B §584), asides partly reproduced by Arag. (§446). Thus, the manuscripts mention Agnès d'Aunoy, together with Agnès' parents Vilain II d'Aunoy and Hélène de Briel or Bruyères, her grandparents Geoffroy d'Aunoy, Marguerite de Cors, and Geoffroy II de Briel or Bruyères, and her great-great-grandparents Vilain I d'Aunoy, Marguerite de Passavant, and Guibert de Cors.

At the centre of this material, however, is the marriage, which occurred before the year 1330,[60] of Agnès d'Aunoy to Etienne le Maure (B §584; H/P v.8464; Arag. §§445–6). Indeed, the purpose of all the references to the d'Aunoy is not to glorify them in their own right, but rather to enhance the standing of the le Maure, the family with whom they contracted a marriage alliance and which in 1338 inherited the barony of Arcadia from them. Having arrived in the Morea with Florent de Hainault, the le Maure were thus only recently incorporated into the Moreot aristocracy and would have welcomed the pedigree that the d'Aunoy had already made their own a generation before. Erard III le Maure has been described by scholarship as part of the 'old feudal nobility' and 'almost the only Frenchman left among the great barons' by the mid-fourteenth century.[61] It may be suggested that this was precisely the image the le Maure themselves desired to project, by means of a work which related with nostalgia the feats of the Frankish conquerors of the Peloponnese and which assigned an important role to the kin of the le Maure. The early *Chronicle* may well have been in the possession of the le Maure family, and could have been commissioned by them.

An opportunist, Nicolas le Maure, *bailli* of the Principality, barely remained loyal to the Angevins during the campaign of Ferrando of Majorca in 1315/16, but, escaping the punishment meted out upon his fellow rebel Nicolas de Nivelet, was soon restored into the favour of Princess Mahaut de Hainault.[62] His grandson, Erard III le Maure, also appears to have been adept in political manoeuvring.[63] In 1344, Erard III upheld the claims to the Morea, based on direct descent from the Villehardouin, of James of Majorca, from whom he

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[60] Hopf (1873) 472.
[61] See, for example, Miller (1908, repr. 1964) 275.
[62] Miller (1908, repr. 1964) 255, 275; Lock (1995) 127.
[63] Longnon (1949) 323–9.

received the title of Marshal of Romania. He made overtures to the Byzantines which resulted later in the marriage of his daughters Lucie and Catherine to John Laskaris Kalopheros and Andronicus Asen Zaccaria respectively.[64] He also entertained good relations with the Hospitallers.[65] Neither his conduct nor that of his father, Etienne, with regard to Catherine de Valois is recorded, but there is no reason to suppose they behaved with any less acumen towards her, at least until her departure from the Peloponnese in 1341.

Of the manuscripts, B contains no negative comments regarding the Angevins; indeed it goes so far as to refer to Philip of Taranto as a 'most excellent and noble man' ('très excerlent et noble homme', §86) and to his widow Catherine de Valois as a 'most excellent lady' ('très excerlente dame', §86). Together with the emphasis in the chronological table on the transfer of the Principality to Robert of Taranto, Philip's son, this makes a strong case for the association of the text of B with the Empress and Regent. Other agendas are suggested by Arag., H, and P. In contrast to B, Arag. attributes a physical impairment to Catherine de Valois ('era coxa', §87), while H and P are openly hostile to the Angevin kings of Naples (e.g. vv.7280–1, 8580). Finally, P, which mourns the passing of Erard III le Maure in fulsome terms, is also noticeably pro-Byzantine in its outlook (e.g. vv.5379, 5391). While it should not be assumed that the le Maure were actively involved in the elaboration of the text of all four manuscripts, the different recensions could be the result of that family's varied circle of contacts.

Language

The language of the common ancestor is, in a sense, less important than the context in which that ancestor was elaborated. However, it may be noted that the same evidence that serves to exclude the derivation of B from H or P also points to the existence of another manuscript, which no longer survives, of the verse narrative in vernacular Greek. It is possible that this lost manuscript, the predecessor of H, and P, could also have been the predecessor of B. Supporting this is further evidence for the circulation of manuscripts of the Greek *Chronicle* different from those now extant. Late in the sixteenth century, for example, the author of the Βιβλίον ἱστορικὸν, a work ascribed to the Peloponnesian bishop Dorotheos of Monemvasia, can be shown to have consulted and made extensive use of one such manuscript.[66]

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[64] Hopf (1961) 472; Jacoby (1968a) 199–205.
[65] Jacoby (1968a) 204.
[66] See Dorotheos of Monemvasia, Βιβλίον ἱστορικὸν (1792) 465–96. This work was first printed in the year 1570.

Two objections levelled against the primacy of the Greek version can be dismissed with relative ease. Of these, the first concerns occasional material present in B, but absent from the otherwise more detailed H and P (§§416, 526–7, 546, 601, 618–20).[67] Here, the superiority of B could be due to the unreliable nature of H and P as witnesses to their lost predecessor. Certainly, the copy of the Greek *Chronicle* consulted by Dorotheos contained lines not in H or P regarding the arrangement of a Franco-Byzantine treaty in 1263.[68] Indeed, the proliferation of variants is typical in vernacular Greek manuscripts, whose scribes are notorious for their reluctance to function purely as passive copyists. In cases such as that of the romance Λίβιστρος καὶ Ροδάμνη, scribes appear little concerned with reproducing accurately the text before them; instead they may be shown to have interfered in a creative way with the text they copied out.[69]

A second objection rests on the identification of examples of 'translationese' in H and P.[70] Against this, it can be argued that the non-Greek words used by H and P should not necessarily be viewed as textual *calques* or transliterations attributable to the activities of a translator. Instead, these 'foreign' words can be fully explained as the result of the establishment in the Morea of a bilingual community. Indeed, the situation in the Morea appears to have resembled that described by the fifteenth-century chronicler Leontios Machairas as existing in Cyprus.[71] The arrival of Latins on the island of Cyprus, according to Machairas, meant that the native population learnt French and began to forget their Greek, which was rendered 'barbarous' ('ἀρκέψα νὰ μαθάνουν φράγκικα, καὶ βαρβαρίσαν τὰ ρωμαῖκα', §158); as a consequence, people ended up writing in a mixture of both French and Greek in such a way as to render it impossible to say truly what their language was ('γράφομεν φράγκικα καὶ ρωμαῖκα, ὅτι εἰς τὸν κόσμον δὲν ἠξεύρουν ἴντα συντυχάνομεν', §158). It is characteristic of bilinguals to follow a practice which in socio-linguistics is termed 'language-mixing'. This is a verbal strategy based on the choice of the most available word irrespective of provenance.[72] Such language-mixing can occur through code-switching, which varies in length and is a complete shift to the other language (e.g. 'νὰ ἔχη τὰ Καλάβρυτα καὶ <u>φίε</u> [= fié] δέκα καὶ δύο', H/P v.1940),[73] or through speech-

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[67] For a discussion of these and other examples, see Jeffreys (1975b) 328–48.

[68] Buchon (1875) xvii.

[69] For the relevant arguments concerning scribal practice, see Eideneier, Moennig, and Toufexes (eds.) (2000). More controversially, Agapitos (1994) 61–7 and Kennedy (1970).

[70] Lurier (1964) 42, 43, 45, 47; Spadaro (1961) 67.

[71] Leontios Machairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. Dawkins, vol. 1 (1932).

[72] Pfaff (1979); Grosjean (1982) 143, 308.

[73] 'to have twenty-two fiefs at Kalavryta.'

borrowing, where a word or short expression is adapted phonologically and morphologically to the language being spoken (e.g. 'νὰ <u>κουγκεστήσῃ</u> [=conquerir] τὸν Μορέαν', H/P v.1510).[74] Of relevance is the fact that 70 per cent of the non-Greek words or expressions found in H and P are also present in late medieval demotic Greek literature in both verse and prose from other territories under western occupation.[75] Moreover, documents issued in the Duchy of Athens by the Acciaiuoli during the early fifteenth century demonstrate that the administrative language used there was Greek of a type resembling the Greek of H and P.[76] These documents contain renditions not only of western names and titles (e.g. 'Νέριος δὲ Ἀτζαϊώλης, αὐθέντης καστελανίας Κορίνθου, δουκιάμου τῶν Ἀθηνῶν', p.220; 'γραφὲν δὲ διὰ χειρὸς νοταρίου καὶ καντζηλιέρου Ἀθηνῶν Νικολάου Χαλκοματᾶ', p.291),[77] but also of the technical vocabulary of feudalism more generally (e.g. 'ἐν πριβελέγιον φραγγιτάδες', p.297; 'ὡρίσαμεν καὶ ἐγεγόνει τὸ παρὸν πριβελέτζιον', p.290; 'καὶ μάλλον ἔστω σοι φράγγος ἐλεύθερος καὶ παιδία τῶν παιδίων σου ἀπὸ πάσης ὑπαροικίας τε δουλοσύνης', p.297).[78] Similar linguistic peculiarities are equally found in documents produced by the Chancellery of the Lusignan kings of Cyprus (e.g. 'μηνοῦμεν σας ὅτι ἀπ᾽ ὦδε καὶ ὀμπρὸς μηδὲν σουφριάσετε κανένας μας ὀφισιάλην . . .').[79]

The basic characteristics of the eight surviving manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea* have been established. We must conclude from this analysis that the original work is no longer extant. All the manuscripts, it would seem, derive ultimately from a text which is likely to have begun to take shape by the mid-1320s, and was then further developed in subsequent years, its content perhaps even continuing to be worked upon into the fourth or even the fifth decade of the fourteenth century. The manuscripts themselves are merely so many different recensions of this text, with each of them attesting to

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[74] 'to conquer the Morea'.

[75] Jeffreys (1975b) 313.

[76] For these documents, see *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la Principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies, Diplômes relatifs aux hautes baronnies franques, seconde époque: affaiblissement et décadence de l'an 1333 a l'an 1470*, ed. Buchon (1845d) 220–3, 289–90, 290–1, and 296–7; see also Horowitz (1995) 131–8.

[77] 'Nerio Acciaiuoli, lord of the castellany of Corinth and of the Duchy of Athens'; 'written in the hand of the notary and chancellor of Athens Nicholas Chalkomatas'.

[78] 'a charter of franchise' or possibly 'a Frankish privilege'; 'we ordered this charter to be made'; 'and you will be a free man as will be your children's children, liberated from the performance of service and from all the obligations of a villein'.

[79] *Le Livre des remembrances de la secrète du Royaume de Chypre (1468–1469)*, ed. Richard (1983) 5: 'we instruct you that now and henceforth you must not suffer that any of our officials . . .'.

programmes of revision of lesser or greater magnitude. Of course, once it has been determined that we are dealing with something that does not survive in its earliest form and can never be fully recovered, it becomes all too easy to give that lost text any shape one wishes. Yet some reconstructions inevitably are more plausible than others. While the possibility of a lost French original—or indeed of an original in another Romance language—can never be completely excluded, the existence of a Greek predecessor to the manuscript families represented by H and P is a matter of certainty. The identification of the common ancestor of all the surviving manuscripts with that Greek predecessor presents an attractive and economical solution. There are indications, in addition to this, that a close connection arose early on between the work and a particular family from within the aristocracy of the Morea—that of the le Maure. With these preliminaries in mind, an examination of the sources used in creation of the *Chronicle* can be embarked upon, with a view to determining the inter-textual network to which the work initially belonged.

2

The Sources

The *Chronicle of Morea* contains very little explicit information regarding its sources. In this, it differs markedly from the other fourteenth-century history of Latin Greece to survive, the *Istoria di Romania* by Marino Sanudo Torsello, known to us in an Italian translation.[1] Sanudo, who began composition of his *Istoria* between 1326 and 1328, and had substantially completed his task by 1336,[2] not only repeatedly acknowledges his indebtedness to earlier historiography, peppering his work with assertions such as 'as we can read in the writings of others, and principally in the *Mirror of History* and the *Book of the Conquest of the Outremer* (p.107),[3] or 'as I have found written at the Papal Court of Rome in a *Chronicle* of the Bishop of Torcello' (p.151),[4] but also sets out to reproduce excerpts from documents of the period (e.g. 'as is apparent from the content of the treaty, which is as follows: *We, Prince Guillaume of Achaia make known to all those who inspect the present document . . .*', p.117).[5] Additional comments included by Sanudo in the *Istoria* draw attention to the fact that he relies heavily upon oral accounts (e.g. 'And I spoke with a certain man [. . .] who had been with Conrado de Capezzo', p.143;[6] 'as was recounted to me by Sir Riccardo da Siena, deacon and cardinal of Saint Eustathius, my lord and patron', p.213),[7] as well as on the testimony of physical remains ('which was destroyed, and of which I have seen the foundations', p.187),[8] and even on his own experiences as an eyewitness to some of the episodes he

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[1] Editions: Marino Sanudo Torsello, 'Istoria del regno di Romania', ed. Hopf (1873) or, with Greek translation, but less widely available: Marino Sanudo Torsello, Ἱστορία της Ρωμανίας, ed. Papadopoulou (2000). Page references here are to the edition of the *Istoria* by Papadopoulou.

[2] Papadopoulou (2000) 71–5.

[3] 'comme si legge in scritture, e precipuè nel *Specchio Istorial* e nel *Libro della Conquista della Terra Transmarina*.' See also Marino Sanudo Torsello, Ἱστορία της Ρωμανίας, ed. Papadopoulou (2000) 157 for another reference to the 'Libro della conquista d'oltre mare'.

[4] 'come ho trovato scritto in corte romana in una *Cronica* del vescovo di Torcello.'

[5] 'come appar per la forma del patto, del qual la forma è questa: Nos Guiglielmus Princeps Achaiae notum facimus universe presentes litteras inspecturis . . .'.

[6] 'Ed io ho parlato con un certo [. . .] che fu con Corrado Capazzo.'

[7] 'come mi disse miser Rizzardo da Siena diacono cardinal di S. Eustachio signor e patron mio.'

[8] 'che fu rovinato, del quale io ho veduto li fondamenti.'

described ('for I myself was in the four Venetian galleys', p.149).[9] The *Chronicle of Morea*, in contrast, has next to nothing to say regarding the oral record or the chronicler's role as an eyewitness, and only once remarks upon the derivation of material from a written source, which it then proceeds to name ('As the *Great History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* recounts and bears witness to', B §2; 'As we have found written in detail in the *Book of the Conquest*, which was composed at that time in Syria', P vv.91–2).[10]

Even so, further evidence can be gleaned not only regarding the written sources, whether narrative or documentary, that were employed in the compilation of the *Chronicle of Morea*, but also concerning the other types of material that were incorporated into the work and served to complete it. Indeed, as we shall see, the picture that is gradually pieced together of the chronicler's compositional methods is one not unlike that which has just been outlined regarding Marino Sanudo Torsello.

NON-NARRATIVE SOURCES

The attention given by the *Chronicle of Morea* to court proceedings, the deliberations of the council chamber and the signing of treaties strikes one in the course of even the most casual reading of the two oldest versions of the work—the Greek and French. Yet, while the chronicler's legal and bureaucratic interests are immediately apparent, it is far more difficult to determine with precision the nature of the non-narrative sources employed by him. The difficulty arises from the fact that scarcely anything has been preserved of the mass of documentation generated in the course of over a century of Villehardouin rule. That records were kept is confirmed by the survival of a few documents in north-western Europe—grants by the Villehardouin to their kinsmen in Champagne, or instructions sent regarding stewardship of their estates in the Hainault.[11] However, no registers from the Villehardouin chancellery or proceedings of hearings held at the Prince's court have been handed down to us. Where material dealing with the administration of the Principality is available, this tends to date from the second half of the thirteenth century or later, and either to have originated with or to be otherwise directly connected to the suzerains of the Villehardouin, the Angevin

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[9] 'ch'io fui in 4 gallee de Veneziani'.

[10] 'selonc ce que la grant estoire dou reaulme de Jherusalem nous raconte et tesmoigne' and Καθὼς ἐγγράφως ηὕραμεν λεπτῶς εἰς τὸ Βιβλίο | τῆς Κουγκέστας, ὅπου ἔγινεν ἐτότες στὴν Συρίαν'.

[11] Buchon (1845b) 375–9.

kings of Naples. Documentary evidence of the internal affairs of the Principality is limited, therefore, to duplicates kept in the Angevin archives.[12] The *Assizes of Romania* or law-code of the Principality constitutes an exception, but even here outside intervention played a decisive role, for the code owes its ten copies and indeed its preservation to a decision in 1452 by the Venetian Senate to apply its articles to the government of the Aegean colonies of the Serenissima.[13]

The *Assizes of Romania*

A definite connection can be shown to exist between the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *Assizes of Romania*. An examination of H and B reveals parallels with nineteen of the two hundred and nineteen articles of the extant text of the law-code, not only in the general legal terminology used, but in the exposition of specific points of law. The relevant articles are: 1, 2, 5, 8, 13, 15, 19, 22, 33, 36, 43, 60, 69, 70, 94, 111, 136, 168, and 209.[14] Parallels are especially extensive with respect to passages in the *Chronicle* dealing with the feudal contract between the prince and his vassals, whether these passages indicate the circumstances under which a liegeman was required to present himself to the prince in order to pay homage and swear allegiance to him (e.g. H vv.7867–926; B §§540–2), comment upon the correct execution of the ceremony by which the feudal contract was established or renewed (e.g. H vv.7881–901, 7927–32, 8616–52; B §§852–3), or describe the mutual rights and obligations which framed the terms of the contract itself (e.g. H vv.1968–2016 and B §§129–31; H vv.4343–495 and B §§317–28; H v.5768 and B §401; H v.7440 and B §511; H vv.8149–63 and B §561; B §961).[15] Often, the legalistic preoccupations of the chronicler are presented explicitly, with characters being depicted as arguing their case by means of direct citation of particular laws and customs of the Principality. Thus, in the *Chronicle* (H vv.7469–80 and B §519), Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin proves that he is entitled to place his liegewoman, Marguerite de Passavant, into hostageship, by reading to his assembled feudatories a law whose content corresponds to Article 15 of the *Assizes*. Similarly, Nicolas II de Saint-Omer illustrates

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[12] First examined in the nineteenth century by Buchon, these registers contained, for the reign of Charles I d'Anjou alone, over two thousand acts concerned with mainland Greece. Destroyed by fire in 1943, their content has since been partially reconstructed from prior publications, as well as from scholars' handwritten transcriptions and brief notes. For details, see Longnon (1959) and Mazzoleni (1987).

[13] See Recoura (1930) 63–79; Topping (1944–5) 305; Lock (1995) 25.

[14] The edition of the *Assizes* used here is *Les Assises de Romanie*, ed. Recoura (1930).

[15] Compare these passages of the *Chronicle* with the content and phrasing of Articles 1, 2, 19, 36, 43, 60, 69, 70, 94, 111, and 136 of the *Assizes*.

the illegality of the arrest of Benjamin of Kalamata by Philippe de Savoie (B §§ 856–61) by citing legislation corresponding to Articles 5 and 33. In other instances, the chronicler's knowledge of individual laws such as that contained in Article 168 is not revealed through direct citation but instead informs the presentation of events, contributing, for example, details in the episode of the disinheritance of Robert de Champagne (H vv.2415–27 and B §170). Further illustration of this last point can be found in the *Chronicle*'s account of the contest between Marguerite de Passavant and Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin over the barony of Akova. Here, the formalities observed by Marguerite and her husband when demanding investiture of the barony (H vv.7301–404 and B §§501–9), the convocation of a *court plenière* to hear Marguerite's case (H vv.7405–519 and B §§509–16), and, finally, the delegation by the Prince of presidency of his court to Leonardo da Veroli, his chancellor (H vv.7520–51 and B §§517–18), closely resemble the provisions regarding due judicial process set out in Articles 209, 13, and 8 respectively.

While this demonstrates that the *Chronicle of Morea* and the extant text of the *Assizes of Romania* are connected in some way, their relationship cannot be defined in terms of a simple derivation of one from the other. H and B frequently mention, in recounting the lawsuit brought by Marguerite de Passavant, that a 'book of usages' or 'book of laws' was brought into court (H vv.7567–8, 7587, 7589, 7638; B §§519, 521, 522, 524). Moreover, in a speech attributed by the *Chronicle* to Guillaume de Villehardouin in the aftermath of the court hearing, the Prince describes himself as having leafed through a book 'in which the customs of the land are written' (H v. 7639) where he lit upon a law whose stipulations were of relevance to the Passavant case. These references to a written legal code are confirmation that such a book was known to the chronicler. Even so, there are a number of indications that the book of laws mentioned in the *Chronicle* was not itself identical to the text of the *Assizes of Romania* which has survived.[16] For example, the *Chronicle* differs from Article 36 of the extant *Assizes* in stipulating a time limit for the investiture of a hereditary fief of one year and one day (H v.7331; B §504) rather than two years and two days. This suggests that the history depends on an earlier version of the law-code than has been handed down to us. Indeed, the *Chronicle* can be shown to have influenced the tripartite Prologue of the extant text of the *Assizes*. In Part III of that Prologue, it is declared that the account given there is derived from 'the *Book of the Conquest*' ('sicomo in lo *Libro de la Conquista* apertamentre se declara'), a reference to the *Chronicle of Morea*. Much of Parts II and III of the Prologue has in fact been abridged from the *Chronicle*, which covers the same events in more extensive form (H vv.1182–98, 1272–6,

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[16] See La Monte (1932) 291 and Jacoby (1971) 64.

1296–315, 2472–620; B §§84–7, 177–85).[17] Thus, the text of the *Assizes* with which the chronicler was familiar must have lacked the Prologue. It also differed in at least one other respect, for the chronicler appears to have had recourse to a version of the code which did not use Jerusalemite law. Currently incorporated into the *Assizes* are five chapters of the *Livre des assises et des usages et des plais de la haute cort dou reiaume de Jerusalem* by Jean d'Ibelin.[18] These chapters were added as interpolations to the *Assizes* at the same date as the Prologue,[19] and their content can be shown not only to clash with the original precepts of Moreot law,[20] but also to contradict the tenor of a number of passages in the *Chronicle* itself (H vv.7602–19 and B §52; H vv.7867–926, 7881–902, 8616–52 and B §§540–2, 852–3).

The relationship between the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *Assizes of Romania* can be further elucidated by briefly considering the origin and formation of the latter. The earliest indications as to the content of a written law-code are provided in 1303, the year in which a Venetian act invokes two clauses of the 'consuetudo parcium Romanie'. These clauses can be related to the extant text of the *Assizes*, with the first corresponding to Article 214 and the second to Article 69.[21] The beginning of the fourteenth century can thus be taken to mark the definite existence of a written code which, while not necessarily as comprehensive as the extant *Assizes of Romania*, at least bore some resemblance to it.[22] A further

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[17] It should be noted also that the opening words of Part I of the Prologue of the *Assizes of Romania* date the First Crusade to 1104, an error equally found in the *Chronicle of Morea* (P vv.4–5; B §2).

[18] *Assises de Jérusalem ou recueil des ouvrages de jurisprudence composés pendant le XIIIe siècle dans les royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre*, ed. Beugnot, vol. 1 (1841, repr. 1967), chapters 1–3 and 195–6.

[19] Chapters 1–3 from d'Ibelin have been used for Part I of the Prologue, where they are combined with material from the *Chronicle of Morea*. The wording of the opening sentence of the Prologue is practically identical to d'Ibelin, as is much of the remainder of Part I. Specifically, the author of the Prologue appears to have used the version of the First Crusade found in d'Ibelin, the emphases of which suited his purposes far better than the equivalent section of the *Chronicle of Morea*, but derived the date of 1104 from the *Chronicle*, an action which may have been facilitated by the fact that some manuscripts of d'Ibelin (e.g. Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 19025) appear to have had no date for the conquest of Jerusalem, beyond an indication of the millennium. Indeed, a new edition of d'Ibelin, which is based upon a manuscript that appears to have been copied at Acre *c*.1280 and thus offers the earliest witness to the text, does not contain the date (John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, ed. Edbury (2003) 51).

[20] Article 3 of the extant *Assizes*, derived from chapters 195–6 of d'Ibelin, disagrees with three articles elsewhere in the *Assizes* (1, 2, 36).

[21] Jacoby (1971) 69.

[22] The *Assizes*, as we have them, open with a Prologue in three parts, in which information is proffered concerning the evolution of the law-code. Part I of the Prologue describes the formation of a written code for Jerusalem by the participants in the First Crusade, under the direction of Godefroy de Bouillon. Then, in Part II, we are told how the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baudouin de Flandres, sent to Jerusalem in order to obtain these 'uxance

period of elaboration of the law-code then appears to have taken place in the second and third decades of the fourteenth century. This can be deduced from the tenor of a number of laws preserved in the extant *Assizes*. Thus, in Article 48, the Templars are omitted from a list of military orders, suggesting that this Article was composed after the dissolution of the order by Clement V in 1312. Article 196 lists, in order, first the *bailli* of the Principality, then the prince, the Latin emperor, and the king, establishing a feudal hierarchy which corresponds to the situation in *c*.1313, when Louis de Bourgogne, Prince of Morea, was vassal to Philip I of Taranto, titular Latin Emperor, whose own overlord was King Robert of Naples. Article 36 refers to Nicolas III de Saint-Omer, who died on 30 January 1314, as 'formerly Marshal of the Principality'.[23] Finally, Article 18 refers to arrangements made in July 1316 regarding the succession to the estate of Nicolas de Tremolay or Dramelay, lord of Chalandritsa. Indeed, based upon an addition clumsily tacked on to the end of the text of the *Assizes* in Ital. Zanetti 31 of the Biblioteca Marciana, a *terminus ante quem* can be proposed for the formation of a comprehensive written code substantially the same as has survived.[24] The

e assise' for his own realm and how, when the assizes were received, the articles most necessary to govern territory acquired by conquest were adopted as the official customary of the Empire. The final part of the Prologue (III) informs us that Geoffroy I de Villehardouin, Prince of Morea, later performed homage to one of Baudouin's successors, the Latin Emperor Robert, and swore to govern in his domains according to the assizes of the Empire of Romania as these are preserved in the book we ourselves are reading ('tegnir e mantegnir le Uxance e Costume de lo Imperio de Romania per tuto lo paixe cussi ordenamentre como è scrito e devixado in questo libro'). This triple testimony of the Prologue is highly suspect. In 1204, written assizes of Levantine origin are unlikely to have existed (for the debate on this matter, see Beugnot, vol. 1 (1841–3) xxvii; *Les Assizes de Romanie*, ed. Recoura (1930) 41–21; Topping (1944–5) 306; La Monte (1946); Edbury (1995) 72–9, (1997) 105). What is more, Baudouin's messengers could not have gone to Jerusalem, for the city had passed out of crusader control seventeen years previously. As for the alleged meeting between the Emperor Robert and Geoffroy II, this is an extremely garbled account of the Parliament of Ravennika, called in 1209 by the Emperor Henri de Flandres and attended not by Geoffroy II, but by his father (Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. Longnon (1948) 134–50). The first independent attestation to the existence of a body of legal customs of the Empire of Romania is associated with a grant of *c*.1217, but this testimony is not entirely to be trusted since the grant in question is recorded in an act of 1275 (Recoura (1930) 31 and Jacoby (1971)). More references to the customs or usages of the Empire are found in documents belonging to the third decade of the thirteenth century or later, but even then it is not clear whether an oral or written code is meant. The material included in the extant *Assizes* indicates that both written and oral sources were used at some stage. Proof of the mixed nature of the sources of the *Assizes* is provided by the presence not only of pairs of articles which appear to be derived from the same written text (Articles 5 and 33; 7 and 49; 30 and 72; 4 and 6; 81 and 133), but also of phrases implying recourse to oral tradition (Article 105).

[23] 'de qua indriedo Marescalcho'.
[24] See Jacoby (1971) 75–82. The traditional dating to 1333–1346 of another article in the text of the extant *Assizes* should not be accepted. Article 136, which refers to the appointment of a *bailli* 'sent to govern the aforesaid Empire or aforesaid Principality on behalf of the Emperor or

addition in question, which refers to a decree issued by a certain Nicolas de Joinville, is most likely to have been drawn up during or shortly after Nicolas's term of office as *bailli* in 1323–25.[25] It would seem that the compilation of a comprehensive code of the *Assizes* was nearly contemporary to the creation of the original *Chronicle of Morea*. One might even ask whether the *Assizes* were not the product of the same circle, a circumstance which would go a long way towards explaining the mutual dependency of the two works.

Other Documents

While its greatest debt is to the *Assizes of Romania*, the *Chronicle of Morea* does make use of material derived from other documents. These were largely of local Peloponnesian provenance, although the content of a group of documents associated with the Angevins also appears to have been known. Because no originals survive for the Peloponnesian material, any attempt to define the precise nature of that material hinges on what the *Chronicle* itself has to tell us both about the general types of documents which were circulating in the Morea, and, more specifically, about individual items.[26] That said, the Peloponnesian material to which the chronicler had access may have included written details regarding a number of court cases, a register of the fiefs and feudatories of the Principality dating to *c.*1225, as well as a collection of documents appertaining to the barony of Akova and at least one document connected with the barony of Karytaina.

of the Prince' ('mandato a governor lo ditto imperio over lo detto principato, per parte de lo Imperador, over de lo Principo'), has been thought to correspond to a situation which first arose in the year 1333, when, following the cession by Jean of Gravina of the Principality to the young Robert of Taranto on 17 December 1332, the Empress Catherine de Valois, Robert's mother and regent, sent Gaudeno da Scalea as *bailli* to the Morea; according to this interpretation, the article would have no longer been relevant in 1346, when Robert sent his own *bailli*. The difficulty with accepting this argument is that it depends upon a reading of Article 136 that is inaccurate, because the article in fact provides not for the appointment of a *bailli* for the Morea either by the Prince himself or by the Latin Emperor (or Empress), but for the appointment of a *bailli* for either the Morea or for the Latin Empire, by the Prince or Emperor respectively. Indeed, the article is not precisely datable.

[25] Recoura (1930) 44–6.

[26] The *Chronicle* cannot be said to be an entirely reliable witness, for at least in one case its description of a document would appear not to tally with the date of the actual source used (Longnon (1946) 77–93). On occasion, references to the same material are also found in the *Assizes* (e.g. Articles 71, 90, 91, 191), but, as has already been demonstrated, the *Assizes* were dependent upon the *Chronicle*.

Records of Court Hearings

That the legal knowledge displayed in the *Chronicle of Morea* was not confined to the principles of Moreot law, but extended to an acquaintance with specific cases and particular court rulings, is suggested by the account which the *Chronicle* gives of five court hearings (H vv.2318–434 and B §§161–72; H vv.3374–443 and B §§243–52; H vv.7301–619 and B §§501–23; H vv.8110–75 and B §§557–62; B §§954–72). With one exception, found in Article 36, the *Assizes of Romania* contain no reference to any of these court cases, indicating that an additional source was used.

Some central record of the most important court cases does appear to have been kept in the Principality, for there are indications that the Prince was obliged to have the judgments of his own High Court placed in writing in his register.[27] However, this register can be excluded as the source for at least two of the hearings narrated by the *Chronicle*, since the trial of Guillaume de la Roche did not even take place in Latin Greece, while the lawsuit brought by Marguerite de Villehardouin was suspended and a settlement reached out of court. In the first of these two instances, the *Chronicle* may instead have had recourse to a written document from the court of the king of France, for the narrative specifies that a copy of the judgment was made in order for it to be taken back to the Morea and given to Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin (H vv.3439–43; B §§251–2). In the second instance, the late date of 1304 for the dispute could mean that the chronicler witnessed the events directly, perhaps even in an official capacity, given his legal expertise. For the remaining three hearings, an additional possibility presents itself regarding the provenance of the *Chronicle*'s information: it may be noted that both the *Chronicle* (H vv.2415–27 and B §170) and the *Assizes* (Article 168) describe the issuing to individuals in the Morea, upon request, of excerpts of judgments from the Prince's register.

The Register of Fiefs

Commenting upon the initial stage of the conquest of Peloponnese, the *Chronicle* lists the fiefs of the Principality of Morea, names their holders, and describes the creation of a register in which the details of these land-holdings were entered. Both H and B intimate that the process of recording enfeoffments was begun by Champlitte (H vv.1838–902; B §§122–7), and add that Geoffroy de Villehardouin, on being invested as *bailli* of the Morea, convoked a parliament and had a report given to him of the fiefs which had already been distributed (H vv.1903–67; B §128). The Greek version claims a

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[27] *Les Assises de Romanie* , ed. Recoura (1930) Article 168.

register listing the different fiefs and their holders was brought before Geof-
froy (vv.1908–68), while the French implies that the register was created in the
course of the parliament itself (§129).

The actual content of the list is essentially the same in H and B, versions of
the *Chronicle* which appear to reproduce the source originally used.[28] That
source, however, can be proven to reflect the situation not under Champlitte
or Villehardouin, as is alleged by the *Chronicle*, but rather that of a generation
later.[29] A comparison of the *Chronicle* to documents dating from the reign of
Geoffroy I shows that, while the surnames given tend to be the same, the
Christian names are different. Thus, where the *Chronicle* refers to Hugues or
Geoffroy de Briel (in H and B respectively), two acts of 1209 mention a certain
Renaud de Briel; similarly, the *Chronicle* identifies the lord of Patras as
Guillaume d'Aleman, of Veligosti as Mathieu de Mons and of Chalandritsa
as Robert de Tremolay or Dramelay, where the treaty of Sapienza of 1209 has
respectively Arnoul d'Aleman, Hugues de Mons. and G. de Tremolay. The list
in the *Chronicle* also includes fiefs, such as Geraki and Passavant, the conquest
of which did not occur until the end of the reign of Geoffroy I. Finally, the
Chronicle names a certain Jean de Nully among the original conquerors and
feudatories, although Jean had remained in France until 1218, when he took
the cross, participating in the siege of Damietta in the following year and
subsequently establishing himself in the Morea.

The chronicler thus appears to have had access to a register with entries
regarding the possession of fiefs in the Principality dating not to the first but
to the third decade of the thirteenth century. Indeed, it could be argued that
the register was created by means of a census or similar process upon the
succession of Geoffroy II de Villehardouin in 1225, but because of its great age
was mistakenly thought by the chronicler to refer to Geoffroy I. It is of
relevance that, while Article 91 of the *Assizes* refers to the habit of turning
to 'the ancient register' ('lo registro etiamdio antigo') in order to find proof
there of an individual feudatory's rights, confirming that a register of fiefs had
indeed been kept for some time, Article 90 provides for cases where the
feudatory who has no letters of concession can prove his rights by calling
upon oral witnesses, a fact which suggests that a written Moreot register had
not been in existence right from the start.

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[28] It may be noted that Arag. uses an updated list which corresponds to the 1260s and
includes the names of the descendants of the conquering knights as well as those of new arrivals,
such as the d'Aunoy brothers (Hopf (1961) 472). Subsequent lists of fiefs survive in two
documents, of 1377 and 1391 respectively (edited in Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 689–92), but these
had no impact on the *Chronicle of Morea*.

[29] Longnon (1946) 85–6.

Moreot Deeds and Charters

In addition to the register of fiefs, the *Chronicle of Morea*, at least in the Greek version, refers to deeds and charters regarding individual estates. Two of the pertinent references are found in a speech attributed by H to Guillaume de Villehardouin consequential to the court hearing of the case of Marguerite de Passavant. According to H, the Prince declares in this speech his wish to make a grant of a portion of the barony of Akova to the dispossessed Marguerite and gives instructions to his Chancellor to that effect, describing the procedure to be followed in some detail (H vv.7673–92). In the course of these instructions, the Prince refers to written records kept by the elders of the barony ('τὰ πραχτικὰ ὅπου ἔχουσιν', v.7682) and to a letter of concession ('φράγκικον προβελέντζι', v.7689) to be drawn up in favour of Marguerite granting her and the heirs of her body a third of the barony (vv.7691–2).[30] Elsewhere in the *Chronicle*, further references concern similar documents, relating to the barony of Karytaina (e.g. vv.8124–7; v.8137).

Angevin Material

Three categories of Peloponnesian material used by the *Chronicle* have already been discussed. In addition, it may be argued that the chronicler had some awareness of the terms and conditions which defined the relationship of the Villehardouin with their suzerains, the Angevin kings of Naples, and, indeed, that he knew the precise content of documents produced in an Angevin milieu which were of vital importance to the dispute regarding the legality with which the Villehardouin were deprived of the Principality.

First, the *Chronicle*'s account of the marriage alliance between the Regno and the Morea contains two errors which may reflect knowledge of the wording of the treaty of Viterbo itself (H vv.6285–481 and B §§442–55). On 24 May 1267, Guillaume I de Villehardouin signed a treaty with Charles I d'Anjou, according to which he accepted, in exchange for military support, both the marriage of his daughter Isabeau to one of Charles's sons and the eventual devolution of the Principality to the Angevins.[31] The fact that the intended husband of Isabeau remains unnamed in the treaty ('quod unus de

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[30] 'the deeds which they have' and 'a Frankish privilege'. The phrase 'φράγκικον προβελέντζι' could also mean 'a charter of franchise', although the latter meaning makes less sense in this particular context.

[31] For the wording of the document, see *Actes relatifs à la principauté de Morée, 1289–1300*, ed. Perrat and Longnon (1967) 207–11. For the agreement between the Latin Emperor Baudouin II and Charles I d'Anjou which preceded it, see *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 1 (1950) 199–200.

filiis vestris') could be of significance,[32] given that the *Chronicle* does not call
the boy by the correct name of 'Philippe', but refers to him always as 'Louis'.
The emphasis in the treaty on the immediate dispatch, upon the return of
Guillaume de Villehardouin to the Morea, of his young daughter Isabeau to
Naples ('postquam ad terram nostram redierimus, mictemus ad vos') may
explain the presentation in the *Chronicle* of the recognition of the suzerainty
of Charles I and the marriage of Isabeau and 'Louis' as events that were
contemporaneous,[33] and not separated by four years, as was actually the case.

Similarly, in recounting the events of 1289, the *Chronicle* would appear to
cite accurately a clause from an agreement drawn up under the direction of
Charles II d'Anjou on the occasion of the marriage of Isabeau de Villehar-
douin to her second husband, Florent de Hainault (H vv.8579–84 and B
§590). The marriage agreement of 1289 itself is no longer extant, but evidence
for the clause in question is provided by an act conceding the Principality to
Philip of Taranto in October 1304.[34]

Finally, the contents of the written declaration with which Charles II
officially conceded the Principality to the newly-weds Isabeau and Florent
seem to be reproduced by the *Chronicle of Morea* (H v.8624 and B §594).
Charles's original declaration does not survive, but correspondence between it
and the *Chronicle* can be deduced from an examination of excerpts of the
former contained in an Angevin commission of December 1289, which was
sent to Richard d'Airola and Jean de Gallipoli, instructing them to hand over
possession of the Principality to Isabeau and her husband.[35]

The chronicler can thus be shown to have mined extensively Angevin material
of direct relevance to Villehardouin claims to the Morea. In contrast, he appears

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[32] 'one of your sons.'

[33] 'upon our return to our land, we shall send you [our daughter].'

[34] Buchon (1845d) 340.

[35] See *Actes relatifs à la principauté de Morée, 1289–1300*, ed. Perrat and Longnon (1967)
26–8. According to the Greek *Chronicle*, the Angevin king instructed the *bailli* to hand over 'τὸ
πριγκιπάτον τοῦ Μορέως [. . .] | τὰ κάστρη καὶ τὴν ἀφεντίαν ὁλοῦ τοῦ πριγκιπάτου' | 'The
Principality of Morea [. . .] | the castles and the lordship of the entire Principality' (H vv.8627–8), a
phrase which resembles the Latin of the letter of commission to d'Airola and de Gallipoli ('in
corporalem possessionem dicti principatus, nec non castrorum, terrarum, villarum omniumque
jurium principatus ejusdem auctoritate presencium inducentes', 'in corporal possession of the
aforesaid Principality as well as of the castles, lands, manors and all the laws of the same Principality
by the authority of this present [letter]', p.27). The list, which follows in both the French and Greek
Chronicle, of those groups who are to do homage is not the same as that in the letter of commission,
but the terms of homage and exceptions which are noted are ('σωζομένου τοῦ ὅρκου, τὴν πίστιν γὰρ
καὶ τὴν λιζίαν ὅπου χρεωστοῦν τοῦ ῥῆγα' | 'with the exception of the oaths, fealty and homage
which they owe the king', H vv.8636–7; 'sauve la fealté du roy que il reservoit a soy' | 'with the
exception of the fealty which the king reserved for himself', B §595; 'fidelitate nostra, nostris et
cujuslibet alterius semper salvis' | 'with the exception of our fealty and without detriment always to
our followers or to those of anyone else', p.27). The French *Chronicle* makes it clear that the
declaration was in Latin (B §595).

to have been completely unaware of the internal documentation produced by the Angevin administration in Naples, for the content of the Angevin registers regarding the recruitment and financing of military aid provided to the Principality by Charles I d'Anjou and his successors is not reflected in the *Chronicle of Morea*. Small contingents of mercenaries in the employ of the Angevins are mentioned in the *Chronicle*, as are gifts of war-horses and precious metals (e.g. H 7148–57; B §492), but nothing whatsoever is said of the levying of special taxes in the Regno for the defence of the Principality, of the mustering of Italian feudatories to campaign in the Peloponnese, of the dispatch to the Morea of doctors and engineers and other specialist personnel, of the provisioning of the Peloponnesian frontier with Italian grain and weapons, or of the minting of Angevin coinage in the Principality for soldiers' salaries, all aspects amply recorded by the Angevin chancellery.[36] Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that the chronicler's range of documentary sources does not agree with tenure of a post within the central Angevin administration.

Although all the non-narrative sources discussed above, whether of Moreot or Angevin origin, could have been in the possession of the Villehardouin themselves, the same material would also have been more widely available in the Peloponnese. The two noble houses holding the baronies of Akova and Karytaina had failed to produce male offspring, with the result that both these baronies had been partially appropriated by Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin, a fate probably suffered too by their written records; even so, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, a portion of the barony of Akova had passed into the hands of the lords of Arcadia, and relevant documents must have been owned by the d'Aunoy and le Maure. In addition, the Angevin material relating to Isabeau de Villehardouin would have been known to many members of the Moreot elite through copies of the original documents or excerpts thereof dispatched in the correspondence of Naples to various officials of the Principality.[37] Consequently, although the chronicler may have drawn directly upon the Villehardouin archives, he need not have done so.

NARRATIVE SOURCES

For the most part, a direct comparison between the *Chronicle of Morea* and its narrative sources is not possible. Only on one occasion can the *Chronicle* be

[36] For a discussion of the commitment made by Charles I and his successors to aiding the Morea, see Barber (1989) 121.
[37] See above, n. 24.

demonstrated to derive its information from a work of which copies are still in existence today.

William of Tyre

An idealized account of the beginnings of the crusading movement forms the commencement of the *Chronicle*, a circumstance which allows the compiler not only to present the Fourth Crusade as a sequel to early crusading in the Levant, but also to encourage his audience to think of the elite of the Morea as worthy successors to heroes of the stature of Godefroy de Bouillon. In this episode, the *Chronicle* follows a procedure which, for it, is rather unusual. It refers to the authority of a written source, named in the Greek version as 'the Book of Conquest' ('τὸ Βιβλίον τῆς Κουγκέστας', P vv.91–2) and given the designation of 'the Great History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem' in the French ('la grant estoire dou reaulme de Jherusalem', B §2). The source used by the *Chronicle of Morea* can be identified with the *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* by William of Tyre. That this should be so is indicated by the correspondence between the content of the *Historia* and the information regarding the *Chronicle*'s source provided by the Greek version in particular. For instance, the Greek version tells us that the source contained a considerably more detailed version of the events of the First Crusade and of the conquest of Syria than the Moreot chronicler thought appropriate to include. Specifically, the presence in the source of a lengthy passage recounting the sack by the participants in the First Crusade of a series of Levantine fortresses and towns after the fall of Antioch, but before the siege of Jerusalem, is alluded to (P vv.86–94). In Book Seven of his *Historia*, William of Tyre does indeed dwell upon the crusaders' progress from Antioch to Jerusalem via Marrah, Rugia, Archis, Laodicea, Gabala, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Lidda, and Nicopolis.[38]

If William of Tyre's *Historia* was the source behind the *Chronicle of Morea*, that source need not have been consulted in the original Latin, since, although access to William's work had become widespread by the fourteenth century, this had been achieved principally through the dissemination of a French translation.[39] The *Historia Rerum*, which ended somewhat abruptly in the

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[38] The relevant Book of William Tyre can be found in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* (1844) vol. 1.1.

[39] Editions: *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* (1844) vol. 1.1–2 (for the Latin original and the French translation of William of Tyre cited here) and (1859) vol. 2 (for the French continuations of William of Tyre).

year 1184, was rendered into French between 1191 and 1223,[40] and subsequently continued in several phases with considerable variation, leading to the formation of compilations, of which the last ended in 1291.[41] Both the French translation of William of Tyre itself and the translation together with continuations commonly bore the title of *Eracles*, being so named after their opening lines ('Ancient histories say that Eracles [i.e. Heraclius], who was a very good Christian, governed the Roman Empire. . . .', Vatican, Pal. lat. 1963).[42] However, the various editions of this crusading history were also known as the *Livre dou Conqueste*, the *Estoire d'Outremer*, the *Chronique de la Terre d'Outremer*, or even the *Roumans Godefroi de Bouillon*. Most notably, a Paris manuscript, Bibliothèque nationale de France f. fr. 9006, opens with words which closely resemble the appellation given to their source by both the Greek and French language versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*: 'Here begins the *History of the Conquest of the Land of Antioch and of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*'.[43] The widespread availability of the *Eracles* is corroborated not only by sixty-four manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, but by the existence of adaptations into Italian and Spanish, and even back into Latin.[44] That the French *Eracles* was present in Italy in 1320 is proven by the fact that the Dominican Francisco Pipino of Bologna incorporated passages from it into his own history.[45] It could have been known in Greece as early as 1312, for Sanudo Torsello may have had access to an exemplar during his stay in that year at the port of Glarentza in the north-west Peloponnese, where he began his heavily derivative *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Cruces Super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conservatione*.[46]

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[40] These dates are deduced from the fact that, in comments added by the translator, Philip of Flanders is referred to as dead but the French King Philippe-Auguste as still alive (Woledge and Clive (1964) 59). However, Mas-Latrie (1871) 475, 522 suggested rather the years 1225–8 and, at the latest, 1250.

[41] The manuscript tradition of the *Eracles* can be fairly described as daedalic. Morgan, for instance, notes the following dates at which hitherto similar texts begin to disagree or dissimilar texts to agree: 1095–1185, 1185–97, 1197–1218, 1218–27, 1227–1229/31, 1229/31–1248, 1248–61, 1261–64, 1264–75 (Morgan (1973) 10–11). For a simplified division of the manuscripts, see de Riant (1881) 247–56, Woledge and Clive (1964) 59–64, Folda (1973) 90–5, and Morgan (1982) 244–57.

[42] Woledge and Clive (1964) 62: 'Les anciennes estoires dient que Eracles, qui fu mult bons cretiens, governa l'empire de Rome'.

[43] de Mas-Latrie (1871) 475 and *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 1.1 (1844) xxvi: 'Ci commence l'estoire dou conquest de la terre d'Antyoche et dou reaume de Jerusalem'.

[44] Riant (1881) 253. For the Spanish version, see *Gran conquista de Ultramar*, ed. Cooper, vols. 1–4 (1979).

[45] Morgan (1973) 23.

[46] See Morgan (1973) 22–51 and Riant (1881) 253. The third part of the *Liber Secretorum* is derived from a manuscript of the *Eracles*, whose exact extent and content cannot be determined,

Given this evidence regarding titles and circulation, it would seem probable that the compiler of the *Chronicle of Morea* had in front of him a manuscript of the *Eracles* and not the *Historia* itself.

Additional precisions can be made regarding the text used. An examination of the extant manuscripts containing the French translation of William of Tyre and the continuations reveals that the first continuation to be added to the *Eracles* compilation included material concerned with the Fourth Crusade, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and the Principality of Morea that conflicts with the Moreot *Chronicle*.[47] In particular, the account in the *Eracles* of the marriage of Agnès, the daughter of the Latin Emperor Pierre de Courtenay, to Geoffroy II de Villehardouin, can be contrasted with that offered by the *Chronicle of Morea* (*Recueil*, vol. 2, XXIX.xiv; H vv.1185–98 and vv.2472–625; B §75 and §§177–87). In the case of manuscripts of the *Eracles* where coverage extends even further, such discrepancies are compounded. Thus, no textual relationship can be discovered between the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *Eracles* continuations with regard to references to events such as the excommunication of the Emperor Frederick (*Recueil*, vol. 2, XXXIII.liv), the coronation of Manfred (XXXIV.viii), the recovery of Constantinople by the Byzantines (XXXIV.iv), or the conquest of the Regno by Charles d'Anjou (XXXIV.v–vii). It must be concluded that the compiler of the

but which resembled in many respects Paris, Bibliothèque nationale f. fr. 2634 and 2628, and appears to have been of Cypriot origin.

[47] The history of this first continuation acquired by the French translation of William of Tyre is rather convoluted. Prior to the formation of the *Eracles* compilation and perhaps even prior to the French translation of William of Tyre, other chronicles in French on the crusades would already have been in circulation both in the Levant itself and in Europe. De Mas-Latrie (1871) 501 first suggested that one of these was a work which he called the *Chronique d'Ernoul*. This chronicle probably ran to *c.*1197 and its author has been identified with Ernoul de Gibelet, a jurist and important Ibelin partisan active in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and, subsequently, in Cyprus, where he is last attested in 1233. Ernoul's chronicle does not survive in its original form (the closest manuscript to that original is Lyon 828), but there are numerous copies of a reworking, attributed in the manuscript tradition to Bernard le Trésorier de St-Pierre de Corbie ('Cest conte de la terre d'Outremer fist faire li tresorier Bernars de Saint Pierre de Corbie en la carnation mill'o CCXXXII',[6] | This is the story of the land of the Outremer which the Treasurer Bernard of St-Pierre de Corbie had made in the year of our Lord 1232', MSS Berne 340 fo. 128 and Arsenal 4797 fo. 127). Bernard reworked Ernoul's text, but he also updated it, using two further sources of information. Like the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, Bernard's chronicle appears to have begun by circulating independently (MS Saint-Omer 722, fos. 4v.–91v.), before becoming the first continuation of the *Eracles* compilation. For details, see Morgan (1973); the only objections to her analysis have come in Edbury (1991) 18 n.18. Editions: *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. de Mas-Latrie (1871) (for an edition of Bernard le Trésorier); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, 1184–1197*, ed. Morgan (1982) (for a reconstruction of Ernoul).

Chronicle of Morea had access only to the French translation of William of Tyre, but not to the continuations.[48]

Other Narratives

An indication of the extent of the dependence of the *Chronicle of Morea* on narrative sources other than the *Eracles* can be provided by a scrutiny of three episodes recounted in the *Chronicle*: those of the Fourth Crusade; of the battle of Pelagonia; and of the advance of Charles I of Anjou into Italy and conquest of the Regno. These episodes have been chosen because they deal with events no longer within living memory when the *Chronicle* was composed. The relevant passages from the *Chronicle* will be considered together with parallel accounts found in a range of other narrative works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While none of these works was directly utilized by the *Chronicle*, a case can be made, where textual similarities include an agreement in matters of detail, for the existence of common written sources. Indeed, it is possible to trace the circulation in the Mediterranean of particular interpretations of the historical record. Of special significance in this respect is the evidence from histories which were contemporary or near-contemporary to the *Chronicle*.

The Fourth Crusade

The section in the *Chronicle of Morea* dealing with the Fourth Crusade and the formation of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (H vv.121–1902; B §§5–127) is derived from a source that was knowledgeable regarding the topography and political affairs of north-western Italy (H vv.226, 251–99, 308–21, 322–4 and B §12). The account given by the *Chronicle* of the meeting that occurred between the elder Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, and Boniface dei Aleramici, the Marquis of Montferrat, to discuss the preliminaries to the crusade, mentions a place called 'Lans' (§12) or '$\Lambda\acute{a}\tau\sigma\alpha(\nu)$' | '$\Lambda\acute{a}\nu\tau\sigma\alpha\nu$' | '$\Lambda\acute{a}\nu\tau\zeta\alpha$'(H/P vv.226, 252). The toponym is one that was associated with a specific noble family, known from *c*.1189 as the house of Lanza or Lancia,[49] whose estates were concentrated mainly in the subalpine region

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[48] The version of the *Chronicle* given by B does allude to the Third Crusade (B §5); however, this allusion is commonly thought to be an interpolation which attempts to explicate, in a rather confused manner, a passage preserved in P (vv.112–21) referring in general terms to a period of pilgrimage and settlement after the First Crusade. See *Livre de la conquête de la Princée de l'Amorée*, ed. Longnon (1911) 2 n.4 and M. Jeffreys (1975b) 322.

[49] Usseglio (1926) 182.

and included the County of Loreto. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, these holdings, and in particular the fortress of Castagnole delle Lanze, constituted marchland territory of extreme importance in the ongoing struggle between the Aleramici rulers of Montferrat on the one hand and the quasi-independent communes of Asti and Alessandria on the other.[50] In 1196, following a financial transaction between Manfred Lancia and Boniface de Montferrat, who were related by marriage,[51] rights to the possessions of the Lanze were acquired by the Aleramici and a decade of fighting ensued, effectively forcing the new owner to undertake a number of campaigns in the vicinity.[52] Indeed, the matter only appears to have been resolved some years after the acceptance by Boniface of his appointment as leader of the Fourth Crusade.[53] Given the nature of the information included within it, the *Chronicle of Morea* could conceivably be derived from a narrative, now lost, with an Aleramici connection. Boniface de Montferrat, after all, was a noted supporter of letters. Already in Italy, *troubadours* and *trouvères* appear to have flocked to him, attracted by his reputation for culture and generosity. A number of poets not only chose to emulate the lord of Montferrat and take the cross, but, in most instances continued, while on crusade, to compose verse either for Boniface himself or for his family and wider entourage.[54] Indeed, the Aleramici court that was established in the Kingdom of Salonica appears to have aspired to become a place where one could find, as had been the case with its Italian predecessor, 'munificence and service of ladies, elegant raiment, handsome armour, | trumpets and diversions and viols and song'.[55] Such fostering of lyric poetry did not, however, necessarily go hand in hand with the patronage of the writing of histories.[56] Significantly, the *Chronicle of Morea* never displays a bias sympathetic to the cause of Boniface de Montferrat;

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[50] For the territorial expansion of the Marquisate of Montferrat, see Brader (1907), and in particular 104–47.

[51] See Maestri (2005) 18.   [52] See Goria (1970).   [53] Usseglio (1926) 182–3.

[54] *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. Linskill (1964) 216–344; *Il trovatore Elias Cairel*, ed. Lachin (2004) 21–205; *Les Poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit*, ed. Mouzat (1965) 482–9. See also Longnon (1949) 139; Paris (1889) 554.

[55] *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. Linskill (1964), 'Epic Letter', vv.103–5: 'dar e dompney, belh vestir, gent armar, | trompas e joc e viulas e chantar'. See also: Hopf (1877) and Paterson (2005) 92.

[56] On one occasion Boniface is known to have avowed a deliberate refusal to set down on paper the chain of events that led to the capture of Constantinople, arguing instead for the conveyance of such matters by word of mouth alone. See *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, ed. Andrea (2000) 160–1 (Reg. 8: 59 (58)). It should be noted, however, that this statement could well concern only a specific context, that of an exchange with Pope Innocent III, and therefore been intended by Boniface as a way of securing greater manoeuvrability in what were proving to be difficult negotiations regarding the division of the territories of the Byzantine Empire and the election of a new Emperor.

thus events which impacted negatively upon the fulfilment of the ambitions of the marquis and might therefore have been expected to elicit a response of outrage—such as the passing over, at the election of an Emperor of Constantinople from among the crusaders, of Boniface in favour of Baudouin, Count of Flanders—are in fact presented without even a hint of rancour or dissent (H vv.935–86 and B §66). What is more, factual errors concerning the Aleramici abound, ranging from a profound ignorance of marital alliances contracted by them (H vv.245 and B §9), to the misrepresentation and misdating of the death of Boniface himself (H v.1081 and B §71). It is thus difficult to reconcile the content of the *Chronicle* with dependence upon a source composed in a milieu directly associated with the family.

We must look elsewhere. One feature of the *Chronicle of Morea*, namely the flattering image of the activities of Venice during the Fourth Crusade offered by its narrative, stands out. This characteristic requires further explanation. It may be postulated that the *Chronicle* knew of the historiographical tradition sympathetic towards Venice which originated with the *Conquête de Constantinople*, a prosework composed in the Latin Empire before 1209 by Geoffroy de Villehardouin, namesake and uncle to the founder of the ruling dynasty of the Morea.[57] Both the *Chronicle* and the *Conquête* combine admiration for the Venetians in general, and for their Doge, Enrico Dandolo, in particular (e.g. H vv.335–7, 412, 930, 935, 993, B §15 and *Conquête* §§15, 57, 65, 67, 364) with a declared affinity with the Frankish crusaders (e.g. H vv.635–7, 4379–84, 6687–91, B §§25, 354 and *Conquête* §177).[58] Moreover, both works can be shown to agree on a number of occasions over details not found in other accounts of the Fourth Crusade, the resemblance being particularly notable if one looks at the Greek version of the *Chronicle*. Some of the examples occur in the narrative of events leading up to 1204. Thus, there is agreement between the works not only over the incompleteness of the lists of names of those who took the cross (H/P vv.134–7 and *Conquête* §§5–10), but, more importantly, over the exact number of messengers sent to Venice to arrange transport for the crusaders (H vv.311–21 and *Conquête* §18). Censorious comments are also shared concerning the actions of those who did not participate in the conquest of the Queen of Cities, either because, as happened with the Provençal contingent, they sailed directly to the Holy Land from a port other than that of Venice (H vv.134, vv.395–400 and *Conquête* §§45, 50), or because, as was the case with certain clerics at Zara, they abandoned the main fleet at a later stage (H vv. 514 and *Conquête* §97). Additional material of this

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[57] Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 2 vols., ed. Faral (1961).
[58] See Dufournet (1969) for Villehardouin, and Chapter 8, below, for further information on the *Chronicle*.

nature can be identified in the discussion by the works of the events which followed the second sack of Constantinople, as is apparent from their accord in attributing the defeat of Baudouin to the employ of Cuman and Turkish skirmishers by the enemy (H vv.1136–61 and *Conquête* §§355–60). Indeed, the correspondence between the texts persists in passages that deal with the conquest of mainland Greece, as can be seen from references to the razing of the fortifications of Modon by the Venetians (H vv.1690–2 and *Conquête* §329), to the surprise sortie by Sgouros against the Franks camped beneath Acrocorinth (H vv.1528–38 and *Conquête* §331), and, finally, to the occurrence of a single pitched battle in which an army assembled by the Byzantines in the Peloponnese was soundly defeated (H vv.1715–38 and *Conquête* §338). Even more conclusive than such parallels in matters of content, however, is the fact that the third-person explanations given by the author of the *Conquête* of his own role in the Crusade (§§12, 23, 27, 41, 186–8, 283–7, 364) seem to be echoed in the *Chronicle* (e.g. H v.168 and B §§7–8; H vv.311–81 and B §14).

Some indication of the impact of the *Conquête de Constantinople* upon medieval understanding of the Fourth Crusade is provided by the fact that seven manuscripts of the *Conquête* survive, often with continuations, together with a further three redactions which rework the text to a greater or lesser extent.[59] Of the redactions, one is preserved today only in a sixteenth-century manuscript copy (App. II 232) in the French collection of the Biblioteca Marciana, but may have been associated with Venice from an early date.[60]

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[59] Faral, vol. 1 (1961) xxxvii–xxxix. Of the two lengthy French vernacular prose-narratives of the conquest of Constantinople written by participants in the Fourth Crusade, the *Conquête de Constantinople* by Robert de Clari had little impact beyond the local level. It survives in a single manuscript which is dated to the end of the thirteenth century or beginning of the fourteenth century and is thought to have been copied not far from de Clari's own fief, in the monastery of Corbie (Lauer (1924) iii). Thirteenth-century Latin narratives written in France on the subject of the Fourth Crusade cannot be said to have exerted an influence on the *Chronicle of Morea*. One work to be considered is the *Speculum Historiale*, which belonged to the great, tri-partite encyclopaedic work completed by Vincent de Beauvais in Paris before 1244 and known as the *Speculum Maius* (*Speculum Quadruplex sive Speculum Maius*, vol. 4, *Speculum Historiale* (1964–5)). Yet an examination of the three relevant chapters (XC–XCII) of the twenty-ninth book shows that the brief summary contained there of the recuperation by Alexius of the empire, of the death of Morzuphlus, and of the coronation of Baldwin and his succession by Henry does not contain much of the material necessary to the narrative provided by the *Chronicle of Morea*. The slightly longer passage devoted to the Fourth Crusade in the chronicle to the year 1241 written by the monk Aubry de Trois-Fontaines is not only still too summary, but includes material at odds with the *Chronicle of Morea* ('Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium a Monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis Interpolata', *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Scriptores* 23), ed. Scheffer-Boichorst (1874) 880–3).

[60] The other two redactions are housed in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale f. fr. 15100 and 15460) and include a recension incorporated into a French chronicle written in north-west Europe between 1278 and 1281 by an anonymous author under the patronage of Baudouin d'Avesnes. For details, see Ruhe (1969) 12–13.

There is evidence that the *Conquête* was especially well-received in Venice in the fourteenth century.[61] The historian and crusading propagandist Marino Sanudo Torsello (*c.*1270–1343) added a brief continuation in Latin to the *Conquête* (Bodleian Laud. misc. 587 and Bibliothèque nationale de France f. fr. 4972),[62] while Andrea Dandolo (*c.*1307–54), a descendant of Enrico Dandolo and, like his forebear, Doge, commissioned a number of copies.[63] This early fourteenth-century connection with Venice is of importance, because although the compiler of the *Chronicle of Morea* appears to have known of the *Conquête*, this knowledge could well have been gained indirectly, via a mediating text.

While offering a defence of the Fourth Crusade which relies primarily upon the material in the *Conquête* of Geoffroy de Villehardouin, the *Chronicle of Morea* exaggerates the *Conquête*'s pro-Venetian stance. Three main histories were composed or updated in Venice in the thirteenth century.[64] The short Latin *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, which initially covered the reigns of the Doges prior to Enrico Dandolo, acquired a supplement to 1229 in the so-called *Giustiniani chronicle*, which included an account of the events from 1201 to 1204.[65] Also in Latin, the *Altinate*, put together in its original form in *c.*1081, was rewritten and given a new prologue in *c.*1292; at the same time it received a continuation in the form of a list of brief entries referring to the Emperors who reigned in Constantinople from Manuel Comnenus to Baudouin II, one version at least of which contains a few sentences on 1204.[66] More substantial than either of these was the account of the Fourth Crusade in the *Estoires de Venise* (I.xxxvi–lxiii), a chronicle in French by the Venetian Martino da Canal begun in 1267 and interrupted shortly after 1275.[67] All three histories insist that Venice, in participating in the Fourth Crusade, was innocent of any wrongdoing (e.g. *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, pp.73, 75; *Giustiniani chronicle*, pp.92–3; *Altinate*, p.68).[68] In particular, da Canal goes to great lengths, alleging papal sponsorship of the diversion of the Crusade to

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[61] Faral, vol. 1 (1961) xxxix.
[62] Wolff (1953, repr. 1976) X, 149–59.
[63] Longnon (1949) 316–17.
[64] See Carile (1970) 76–7, 81 and Cochrane (1981) 62. It has been estimated that for the period up to the seventeenth century approximately a thousand different codices are extant, containing for the most part Venetian family chronicles; however, it should be noted that the multiplication of chronicles by the Venetian patriciate was a phenomenon originating in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, well after the composition of the *Chronicle of Morea*.
[65] 'Historia Ducum Veneticorum', *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptores 14)*, ed. Simonsfeld (1883) 72–89; 'Supplementum ex Chronico quod Vocant Iustiniani', ibid. 89–97.
[66] 'Altinate', ibid. 1–69, especially 67–9.
[67] Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani (1972).
[68] Cochrane (1981) 65.

Constantinople (I.xlii) and presenting the union of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches as the objective (I.xlv). Throughout the *Estoires de Venise*, the Venetian Doge Enrico Dandolo is described as acting not on his own initiative, but as a faithful servant of the Holy Church (e.g. I.lv, xliii and xlv) who had no interest in worldly gain (I.lv).

Common elements can be identified between these three thirteenth-century native Venetian histories and the *Chronicle of Morea* (e.g. H vv.482–97 and B §31; H vv.928–64 and B §§63–4), but the nature of these correspondences does not permit the identification of a source in any one of the Venetian histories. Unlike the *Chronicle*, none of the three thirteenth-century Venetian works displays any awareness of the *Conquête*. Moreover, there are in the *Chronicle* a number of passages favourable to the Venetians absent even from the other three partisan works (e.g. H vv.1025–9 and B §68; H vv.3173–463 and B §§220–53). What the *Chronicle of Morea* thus appears to reflect are fourteenth-century developments in Venice's exposition of her past, with the chronicler possibly borrowing from a loose textual reworking of Villehardouin's *Conquête* that was produced in a context associated with the Serenissima.[69]

The Battle of Pelagonia

Certain features in the account given by the *Chronicle of Morea* of the battle of Pelagonia suggest that recourse may have been had to a poem which related the deeds of Geoffroy de Briel or de Bruyères, Baron of Karytaina, in the epic style.[70] The account focuses on de Briel, assigning to Guillaume de Villehardouin a secondary role (H vv.3950–4091; B §§293–305). Thus, in the Greek version, it is only after fifty-four lines describing the actions of de Briel on the battlefield that de Villehardouin is mentioned for the first time, and, even then, the narrator merely notes that the Prince led a division to the assistance of de Briel but arrived too late and was himself captured (H vv.4073–86). According to manuscript H, Geoffroy de Briel had launched an attack practically single-handed against the German cavalry that formed the first division of the Byzantine army. First, we are told, de Briel charged at the enemy

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[69] Should such a reworking have existed prior to the *Chronicle of Morea*—and the manuscript in the Biblioteca Marciana suggests that it may indeed have done—the absence in that reworking of the aside in which the *Conquête* makes a clear distinction between Geoffroy, Marshal of Champagne, and his nephew (§325), could explain why the *Chronicle of Morea* conflates the two individuals (H vv.1568–74; B §103). An alternative, however, is that the *Chronicle*, more concerned to promote a particular ideological position than to adhere faithfully to its source, deliberately sought to attribute more impressive credentials to the first Prince of Morea than were his by right.

[70] Jeffreys (1975b) 336.

commander, dealing his shield a blow of the lance that stretched out both the man and his steed on the ground, dead (H vv.4017–23); he then dispatched two of the commander's kinsmen (v.4024) and, finally, discarding the broken stump of his lance and drawing his sword, fought the remainder of the cavalry, mowing them down 'like hay in a meadow' ('ὡς χόρτον εἰς λιβάδι᾽, v.4029). The entire passage is narrated in a heroic discourse reminiscent of that conventionally employed for battle-scenes in medieval epic in vernacular Greek. Particularly close to the account of Pelagonia is the narrative of a battle waged by Achilles against five brothers and their army in the *Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως* (Naples *Achilleid* vv.591–668; Oxford *Achilleid*, vv.555–90),[71] a romance-epic that can be connected to the court of Neopatras of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and therefore would appear to have been produced in Byzantine territory adjoining Latin Greece.[72] Some similarity, too, can be identified between H and *Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης*, the oldest Byzantine epic (e.g. Escorial *Digenes*, vv.761–967).[73] That such exaggerated discourse was a feature of the common ancestor of the extant manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea* is confirmed by the Aragonese version (§§281–3), which indeed contains further echoes of *Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης* (Arag. §§313, 319; Escorial *Digenes*, vv.1688–92).[74] It may be noted that de Briel, as the eldest grandchild of Geoffroy I, and the only male of his generation present in the Morea who could claim to be directly descended from the first Villehardouin ruler, would have had a claim to the throne of the Principality. The man's status as a potential ruler, together with his protracted tussles with his uncle, who appears not to have looked favourably upon the possibility of de Briel inheriting to the detriment of his own female children, would have ensured that the Baron of Karytaina was remembered long after his death. He was thus an ideal subject for heroic treatment. As such, he would have shared a distinction also granted to Henri de Flandres, the second Latin Emperor of Constantinople, whose deeds were similarly sung.[75]

Epic poetry from Frankish Greece has not survived. However, the episode of the battle of Pelagonia is preserved in three Byzantine histories. The earliest is by Acropolites (§§79–82), who was a contemporary of the events he related,

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[71] *The Byzantine Achilleid: The Naples Version*, ed. Smith † (1999) and *The Oxford Version of the Achilleid*, ed. Smith (1990).
[72] Magdalino (1989, repr. 1991) XIII, 89.
[73] *Βασίλειος Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης*, ed. Alexiou (1985).
[74] That *Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης* was known in Southern Greece is indicated by the influence it exercised on the *Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως*; in addition, iconographic schemes on sgraffito tableware excavated in Corinth have been identified as representations of the military and amorous exploits of Digenes. See Frantz (1940–1).
[75] Manoussacas (1952b).

while the remaining two are by Pachymeres (I.30–1) and Gregoras (III.5), who wrote several generations later.[76] Of these histories, the Χρονικὴ συγγραφὴ by Acropolites can be shown to disagree strongly with the version of events offered by the *Chronicle of Morea*. At Pelagonia in 1259, the Nicenes prevailed over the coalition of Michael II of Epirus, Manfred of Sicily, and Guillaume de Villehardouin. According to the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή, the commander of the Byzantine army avoided head-on collision, choosing instead to distribute his forces so that his heavily armed cavalry occupied the strongest positions, while his lighter Cuman, Turkish, and Greek archers harassed the enemy, skirmishing continually, and even succeeding in plundering the baggage-train (pp.168–9). The allies, it is explained, were so terrified by this strategy that they lost all hope of victory: the Despot Michael II of Epirus fled in the night, his illegitimate son went over to the enemy, while the contingent sent by Manfred of Sicily surrendered (pp.169–70). Even Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin and his Frankish and Greek troops scattered, Acropolites notes, adding with some satisfaction that this did not prevent Geoffroy of Karytaina ('ὁ τῆς Καριτάνας Ἰοφρέ') and the other Frankish barons from being captured, while the Prince himself was ignominiously found cowering under a haystack, identified by his buck teeth, and seized (p.170). All in all, the history of Acropolites creates the impression that no protracted fighting occurred at Pelagonia, and that the defeat of the allies at the hands of the Nicene forces came quickly and ingloriously. In contrast, the *Chronicle of Morea*, although unable to disguise the basic facts completely, interprets matters in such a way as to exculpate the conduct of the men commanded by Guillaume de Villehardouin. This is done by giving implausibly high numbers for the size of the opposing Nicene troops (H vv.3593–670 and B §270; H vv.3710–11 and B §279), by neglecting to mention the presence of the troops of Manfred of Sicily (H v.3637 and B §275), and by insisting that trickery by a Nicene agent played a crucial part in the flight of Michael II (H vv.3712–946 and B §§279–91). In this way, unlike the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή, the *Chronicle* attempts to present the defeat at Pelagonia as honourable and even praiseworthy.

The dissimilarity between Acropolites and the *Chronicle of Morea* can, to some extent, be attributed to the opposing ideological environments in which the two works were written. However, this is not the entire explanation. An examination of the two later Byzantine historians reveals that features introduced by Gregoras and Pachymeres into the narrative they had inherited from Acropolites are reminiscent of the interpretation of the episode given in the

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[76] *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, vol. 1, ed. Heisenberg (1978); Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Failler and trans. Laurent, vol. 1 (1984); Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, vol. 1, ed. Schopen (1832).

Chronicle.[77] Gregoras, like the *Chronicle*, explains the flight of Michael II by means of an anecdote regarding the dispatch by the Nicenes of a double-agent to the Epirot camp in order to trick the Despot (III.δ). For his part, Pachymeres not only agrees with the *Chronicle* in having little to say about the presence of Manfred's forces in the Epirot coalition, but includes in his account a number of explicit comments favourable to Prince Guillaume and the other Moreot knights. For instance, he praises the Prince's conduct after capture, noting that Guillaume de Villehardouin kept his word, handing over the promised ransom without delay, and, indeed, would have remained loyal to his pact with the Emperor, had the Pope not denied the validity of the agreement and annulled the oaths (I.31). It may be argued that variations between the different accounts of the battle of Pelagonia were in some measure due to the dates of composition of these accounts. It is surely no coincidence that the most obvious parallels are between the *Chronicle of Morea* and the history of Pachymeres, the two works which are also closest to each other in chronological terms.

Thus, the source utilized by the *Chronicle* for its version of the battle of Pelagonia would appear to have been an epic recounting the deeds of Geoffroy de Briel. A direct connection between the *Chronicle of Morea* and the Byzantine histories should not be supposed. Nonetheless, it is possible that the narrative in the *Chronicle* of the battle of Pelagonia and its aftermath does not reflect an exclusively local tradition, but rather one that became known further afield and continued to evolve from generation to generation within the eastern Mediterranean.

The Conquest of the Regno by Charles I d'Anjou

If the account of the advance of Charles d'Anjou into Italy (H vv.5955–6121 and B §§418–29) and of the subsequent battles of Benevento (H vv.6122–40 and B §§430–1) and Tagliacozzo (H vv.6772–7107 and B §§474–89) given in the *Chronicle of Morea* is set alongside that found in the histories of the Florentine Giovanni Villani (Books VII.88–90, VIII.1–9 and VIII.23–9) and the Catalan Ramón Muntaner (Chapters 32–5),[78] it can be concluded that the three works contain substantially the same version of events. All three histories were roughly contemporaneous, for Muntaner began his *Crònica* in 1325 and completed it by 1328,[79] while it can be established from internal evidence that the *Nuova cronica*

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[77] See Geanakoplos (1953) 101–53 and Failler (1980) 30–9; comments regarding the different accounts of the battle can also be found in *George Akropolits, The History* trans. Macrides (2007) 361–5.

[78] Editions: Ramón Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, intro. Fuster (1979) vols. 1–2 and Villani, *Nuova cronica*, ed. Porta, vol. 1 (1990).

[79] Ramón Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà, intro. Fuster, vol. 2 (1979) 111–12.

of Villani cannot have been composed before the second or third decade of the fourteenth century, the current version perhaps even dating from as late as the 1330s.[80]

The extent of the parallels between the three histories can be illustrated with reference to a single representative example. All three works recount the insult received at the hands of her sisters by the wife of Charles I d'Anjou, Beatrice of Provence, an insult which they claim induced Charles to accept the papal offer of the crowns of Sicily and Italy. In the *Chronicle of Morea* and in the *Crònica* of Muntaner, this event is related in identical terms. First, the Countess of Provence is slighted by her two sisters, who make her sit on a lower seat than they because she is not a queen, to which insult she responds by retiring to her lodging and giving vent to her grief in private (H vv.6026–40 and B §421; *Crònica*, Chapter 32, p.64); upon finding out what ails his wife, the Count utters an oath and promises that she shall wear a crown on her head ere long (H vv.6071–3 and B §425; *Crònica*, p.65); finally, the project gains the approval and financial aid of King Louis the Pious (H vv.6108–9 and B §428; *Crònica*, p.66). A shorter account than that given by the *Chronicle of Morea* and Muntaner is found in the *Nuova cronica* of Villani, but there too Beatrice is said to have been aggrieved at the contempt and disdain shown to her by the seating arrangements made by her sisters and to have consequently wished to become a queen and their equal (VII.89).

This and other examples would suggest that a common source was used, one that began rather with sketchy information on Frederick II and the issues surrounding the Hohenstaufen succession, before proceeding to describe in more detail the conquest of the Regno by Charles d'Anjou, and ending finally with a description of events immediately following the battle of Tagliacozzo.[81] The source would appear to have been the work of an adherent to the Angevin cause. Adulation of Charles d'Anjou certainly remains a characteristic of Villani's account. To an extent, the same sentiments also come through in

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[80] Green (1972) 164–5. Of the chapters of the *Nuova Cronica*, IV.4 mentions Charles IV of France, who came to the throne in 1322; V.38 refers in the past tense to the statue of Mars on the Ponte Vecchio, swept away in the floods of 1333; VII.41 alludes to the death in 1318 of Henry, son of Manfred and the last of the Hohenstaufen; VIII.89 records the canonization of Pope Celestine V in 1328; finally, X.86 includes the Florentines' purchase of Lucca from Mastino occurred in 1341. In the thirty-sixth chapter of the eighth book of his *Cronica*, Villani asserted that he had been inspired to write his work while on a visit to Rome on the occasion of the jubilee proclaimed by Pope Boniface VIII in 1300, during which he had been struck by the need to do for his own city Florence what the great historians of antiquity had done for Rome; however, this has to be taken as a purely rhetorical statement linking the composition of the *Cronica* to the conventional date of composition of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Aguilecchia (1965–6) 48–51).

[81] See Villani pp.396–7, H v.5994, and B §419; Villani p.412, H vv.6178–9, and B §434; Villani pp.452–3, H vv.6772–7107, and B §§474–89; Villani pp.459–60, H vv.7056–93 and B §48, or, alternatively, Muntaner p.63, H vv.5955–78, and B §418.

the *Chronicle of Morea*, although, for the purpose of magnifying the role played in events by Geoffroy de Villehardouin, some superficial modification has been undertaken here by the anonymous author.[82] The most radical changes to the ideological stance of the source were attempted by Muntaner.[83] However, the Catalan was not entirely successful in his objective, and the resulting confection contains a number of rather incongruous and telling juxtapositions. Thus, explicit comments on the cupidity, financial greed, and general monstrosity of the Angevins are clumsily interpolated by Muntaner into a narrative whose main thrust remains an exposition of the nobility and courtliness of Charles I.[84]

The exact identity of the text which acted as a source for the three fourteenth-century historiographers cannot be resolved. Indications given by Villani serve only to exclude certain possibilities.[85] Much of Villani's information on Florentine and general European history up to about the end of the third quarter of the thirteenth century appears to have been provided by five major texts: a version of the *Chronica de Origine Civitatis* or *Libro fiesolano*, Martin of Troppau's chronicle of the lives of popes and emperors or *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*, the *Liber Peregrinationis* of Ricold of Monte Croce, the so-called pseudo-Brunetto Latini chronicle, and Brunetto Latini's own *Livres dou trésor*.[86] In addition, recourse by Villani to material contained in a lost work known as the *Gesta Florentinorum* may be

[82] For instance, the *Chronicle* credits Guillaume de Villehardouin with the stratagem by which Conradin was defeated at Tagliacozzo (H v.6998 and B §483). This may be contrasted to the *Nuova cronica* of Villani, where the author of the plan was the crusader Erard de Valery, and Villehardouin himself is assigned an honourable but less important role (VIII.27).

[83] Four comments by Muntaner hint that he had access to more information than he was willing to divulge. Three of these concern the discord which arose between Frederick II and the Papal See, as well as the hasty return of Frederick from the Holy Land and the renewal of hostilities in Italy. In each of these passages, the *Crònica* displays some discomfort at the subject-matter (p.63). The same narratorial reluctance is displayed with regard to the battle of Benevento (p.67). Muntaner's desire to pass over certain matters could be related to insurmountable difficulties faced by him due to the nature of his source.

[84] If it is peculiar that the episode concerning Beatrice and Charles should have been included in the *Crònica* at all, even stranger are the emphases which Muntaner maintains in this episode: Charles is said to harbour a 'great love' for his wife and to be in the habit of calling her 'amiga' (p.64).

[85] Green (1972) 155.

[86] Green (1972) 155–64. Thus, for Book I and the first three chapters of Book II, Villani appears indebted to the *Chronica de Origine Civitatis* or *Libro fiesolano*, while Martin of Troppau provided him with the remainder of Book II, all of Book III and the initial chapters of Book IV, and the *Liber Peregrinationis* acted as the source of V.29. From pseudo-Brunetto Latini, Villani almost certainly obtained much of V.38 and V.13, and his borrowing from this source may have been more extensive than this suggests, since there is a gap in the only surviving manuscript of the pseudo-Brunetto Latini chronicle, corresponding to years that are vital for our purposes (1248–85). Nevertheless, the annalistic nature of such portions of the pseudo-Brunetto Latini

proposed for one hundred and thirty-four chapters out of the two hundred and five which deal with the period from 1080 to 1278.[87] A distinctive feature of the account in Villani of the period which saw the establishment of Charles d'Anjou in the Regno is that passages in French are occasionally included (e.g. 'Venus est le iors ce nos avons tant desiré', p.419; 'Si feisse ie volontiers, s'il non fust scomunié', p.424).[88] This could imply that Villani was aware of a work in that language.[89] Of the known sources of Villani, only the *Livres dou trésor* by Brunetto Latini is in French,[90] but while the *Livres* is uncomplimentary to the Hohenstaufen, it does not lavish particular praise on the Angevin who supplanted them. On the contrary, in relating the end of Hohenstaufen rule in southern Italy, Latini does not mention the insult suffered by the wife of Charles d'Anjou and only briefly refers to the victories of Charles d'Anjou at Benevento and Tagliacozzo (I.97–8), concluding with an apology for what is described as a digression.[91] Consequently, the source used for these passages by Villani—and by extension also by Muntaner and the anonymous Moreot

chronicle as do exist renders it unlikely that this work was behind Villani's rather expansive narrative of events relating to Charles d'Anjou (Hartwig (1875) 221–37).

[87] Green (1972) 158.

[88] 'The day which we have for so long desired has finally arrived' and 'I would indeed willingly do it, were he not excommunicate'.

[89] Even so, the fact that French is used in the *Cronica* primarily for passages of direct speech attributed to Charles d'Anjou (e.g. p.413) means that these could be an *effet de style* and invention either of Villani or of his Italian source, rather than the citation of an earlier French account. The French in Villani is corrupted with a number of Italianisms, but this may be due to scribal intervention.

[90] Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou tresor*, ed. Carmody (1948) xiii–xx.

[91] The difficulty with all of the above regarding Villani lies in the so-called 'Malispini question'. Much of Giovanni Villani's *Cronica* is practically identical in content and actual phrasing to a chronicle of uncertain provenance and date, the *Storia fiorentina*, allegedly written in the late thirteenth century by a noble Guelf named Ricordano Malispini and briefly continued by his nephew Giacotto (*Storia fiorentina, col seguito di Giacotto Malispini, dalla edificazione di Firenze sino all'anno 1286*, ed. Follini (1816)). The issue is further complicated by the existence of an anonymous compendium (Bibl. Naz. Flor. II. I. 252, henceforth *Compendium*), which could have acted as an intermediary between Villani and Malispini. Scholarship remains divided as to the correct order of precedence. Whatever the solution to the 'Malispini question', the fact cannot be ignored that the *Chronicle of Morea* is closer to Villani than to Malispini (see, for example, *Storia*, pp.150, 165, 166–7). This would suggest that certain information regarding the arrival of the Angevins was circulating between *c.*1300–1348, but had either not been added to the accounts by 1282 (if one accepts the thesis of Consiglia de Matteis (1972/3), 145–220) or, alternatively, was no longer considered relevant between *c.*1348–1380 (if one agrees with Davis (1969) 215–54). It should be noted that the *Storia fiorentina* by Malispini should not be confused with the Latin chronicle of Saba Malaspina, which gives an eye-witness account of the activities of the Angevin fleet in 1268 and frequently refers to Charles d'Anjou; there is nothing in Saba Malaspina to suggest that he was the source either of Villani or the *Chronicle of Morea* (*Die Chronik des Saba Malaspina*, ed. Koller and Nitschke (1999))).

chronicler in their respective works—cannot have been Latini, but was prob-
ably another French text that does not survive today.

Thus, regarding the narrative sources behind the *Chronicle of Morea*, three
other suggestions have been made in addition to the *Eracles*. It has been
proposed that the chronicler used: a Venetian account of the Fourth Crusade
based upon the *Conquête de Constantinople* by Geoffroy de Villehardouin; a
heroic poem relating the deeds of Geoffroy de Briel; and a pro-Angevin
French text telling of the end of Hohenstaufen rule and the arrival of Charles
I d'Anjou in Italy.

ORAL TALES AND FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE

Until now, priority has been given to identifying possible written sources.
However, other categories of material, although difficult to analyse, should
also be taken into consideration. Thus, oral anecdotes are likely to have been
used by the *Chronicle*. Indeed, a reference to tales recounted by the older
generations may be contained in the Greek version ('ἀφήγησες ἐκείνων τῶν
παλαίων', v.1354).[92] This is admittedly only one interpretation of a rather
obscure passage; however, that in the fourteenth century a writer of the
history of Frankish Greece would turn as a matter of course to the oral record
is confirmed by a remark made by Marino Sanudo Torsello in his *Istoria*.
Sanudo, in describing Byzantine efforts to eradicate piracy in the Aegean,
declares that his account is based on the testimony of the elders of Romania,
who had lived through the period in question ('come li Vecchi di Romania
affermavano', p.146).[93]

Finally, we should not overlook the chronicler's own status as an eye-
witness of the more recent events he recorded. One such event was the
campaign by Philippe de Savoie against the Despot of Epirus in 1304. When
compared to the more summary treatment of earlier military operations in
the same region (e.g. H vv.3618–39 and B §§273–5), the details given by B
regarding the provisioning of the troops and the marching order adopted
indicate that the account of the campaign of Philippe de Savoie was probably

[92] 'tales recounted by the elders' or 'stories of those of old'.
[93] 'as the Elders of Romania affirm'. With respect to the non-narrative sources of the
Chronicle of Morea, it may be noted that the *Assizes* also indicate recourse for information
regarding specific cases to the oral legal record (Article 36), a procedure which could conceivably
have been followed by the *Chronicle* as well.

based on the chronicler's personal experience (§§893–4). More generally, a characteristic of the portion of the *Chronicle of Morea* dealing with the end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth, years which were within the author's own lifetime, appears to be the high quality of the factual information included in the narrative.

From this analysis, it would appear that legal and bureaucratic preoccupations are the most striking feature of the *Chronicle of Morea*. This, however, should not lead us to assume that the compiler of the work was a notary or clerk who, while literate, had comparatively low social standing. On the contrary, the chronicler's pride in his knowledge both of court procedures and of the substance of the law is not unlike that of celebrated Levantine jurists and aristocrats such as Raoul de Tabarie, Philippe de Novare, or indeed Jean d'Ibelin, who was the Count of Jaffa and Ascalon and one of the most powerful men in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the mid-thirteenth century.

Like Marino Sanudo Torsello in his *Istoria di Romania*, the compiler of the *Chronicle of Morea*, although displaying certain preferences with regard to subject-matter and themes, did in fact draw from a range of sources. These sources included not only a law-code, official records, and numerous other documents, but also historical narratives. Oral tales and personal experience seem to have provided additional insights. The bulk of this material was of Peloponnesian origin, with the reproduction of details from certain deeds and charters, most notably, pointing to access either to the Villehardouin chancellery or to the archives of one of the more prominent Moreot barons. The provincialism, nevertheless, of the *Chronicle* should not be overstated, for the work also has a great deal of content which did not originate in the locality. Some material can be attributed to the existence of direct links with specific geographic areas such as Venice or Naples, while, in other instances, we seem to be dealing with information that, in this period, was circulating throughout the Mediterranean and perhaps even beyond. Thus, the common ancestor of the surviving manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea* already seems to have reflected a certain amount of interaction with the wider world outside the peninsula. However, a clearer picture of the cultural networks within which the Principality of Morea was integrated emerges only when the literary contexts of the transmission and development of the different versions of the *Chronicle* are considered.

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The Literary World: Context and Circulation

Upon the death in 1396 of the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, Juan Fernández de Heredia, some pains were taken by his former pupil, now king, Juan I of Aragon, to acquire from his effects 'three volumes of large books containing the histories of Greece'.[1] Bound in these may have been the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, the *Libro de los fechos*. If so, then its acquisition by the royal library of Aragon marked the end of a complex process of transmission. That process can be reconstructed in some detail, for the circumstances which brought Heredia into contact with the world of Greece, its histories, and the men able to translate them are well-documented, as are the techniques employed by those who worked under his patronage.

The sole extant manuscript of the *Libro de los fechos* can be shown to have been the result of a project, financed and co-ordinated by Heredia, involving translators, redactors, copyists and illuminators who together made up a loose group or scriptorium intended to service his private library.[2] As the output of the scriptorium reveals, Greece's past, from the Trojan War through to recent events, exercised a fascination upon the Grand Master. This interest post-dated the Hospital's lease of the Principality of Morea in 1376, as well as the Grand Master's own failed naval campaign of 1378 in Epirus and subsequent imprisonment by the Albanians and Turks.[3] Throughout the 1380s and early 1390s, Heredia continued to be involved in the politics of Latin Greece and it is in his declining years, characterised by increasingly unrealistic schemes for the reacquisition of the Principality, that, in addition to the *Libro de los fechos*, he commissioned translations and adaptations of Zonaras, Plutarch, Thucydides and, following an unsuccessful attempt to

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[1] Luttrell (1960, repr. 1978) XX, 405: 'tres volumes de libres grans de les istoreis de Grecia'.

[2] Spanning several decades, the output of this scriptorium is known from seventeen extant manuscripts totalling some four thousand folios. See Cacho Blecua (1997) 70.

[3] In contrast, works which did not have a Greek subject were redacted prior to 1376, some even as early as 1362. See Luttrell (1959) 295, also (1960, repr. 1978) XX, 401 n. 2–3, 402, 406 and (1972, repr. 1978) XIX, 289–316.

acquire a Latin Homer, of the *Historia Destructionis Troiae* by Guido della Colonna.[4] More precisely, after his release by the Turks in 1379, Heredia had sojourned at the Peloponnesian port of Clarence or Glarentza and then, for a much more extended period of time, on the island of Rhodes, before returning from there in 1382 to the papal court at Avignon.[5] It seems likely that much of the material that formed the basis for the *Libro de los fechos*, including the *Chronicle of Morea* itself, travelled with him.

A suggestion can be made not only with regard to the places where the 'Aragonese' reworking of the *Chronicle of Morea* was engineered, but also as to the identity of those who participated in its formation. The translations that were carried out for Heredia initially involved individuals resident at the court of Aragon and in Paris, but, following the Grand Master's adventures in the East, a shift occurred, and talent in Rhodes and Avignon was instead capitalized upon. Evidence regarding the ordering of translations from the French is extremely restricted, with the only attested example being the *Flor de las ystorias de Orient*.[6] The majority, by contrast, of the originals behind the translations commissioned by Heredia were in the Greek language. That the Hospital of Saint John counted among its dependants in the late Middle Ages persons who were fluent in the written Greek vernacular is confirmed by the colophon of Schol. Medic. 405 in the library of Montpellier: Ἐτελειώθη ὁ Σαχλίκης διὰ χειρὸς ἐμὸν φρὰ Νοὲλ δὲ λὰ Μπρῶ ἐκ τῆς Ροδῶν καβαλλάρεις [sic] . . . '.[7] We know that the work for Heredia's *Plutarco*, a translation of thirty-nine of Plutarch's Βίοι παράλληλοι, was carried out during the early 1380s on Rhodes by individuals closely associated with the Hospital. There were two phases in that instance, a rendition first

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[4] In addition, there are some indications that he had parts of Josephus' *De Bello Judaico* translated, and that he may have contemplated something similar with regard to Justinus' abridgement of the Macedonian histories of Trogus. See Luttrell (1960, repr. 1978) XX, 401–7.

[5] Ibid. 402.

[6] The project is one in which García Fernández from Medina del Campo, a student in canon law at Avignon, appears to have been involved, although it is more likely he acted as a scribe rather than as a translator. It is true that, in addition to the *Flor de las ystorias*, the Aragonese life of Caesar incorporated into the *Grant crónica de Espanya*, but also preserved in a working copy used by Heredia's scriptorium (Biblioteca de Cataluña 355), was derived from a contemporary translation of a book referred to as the 'suma de las istorias en ffrances' ('the *summa* of the histories in French'), which seems to have contained the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* and the *Li Fait des Roumans*. However, this second translation was commissioned by King Pierre of Aragon. What is more, it was produced in 1270–1, almost a decade before the earliest date at which a French manuscript of the *Chronicle of Morea* could have been acquired by Heredia. See Cacho Blecua (1997) 92, 93, 102 and Luttrell (2006).

[7] 'I, brother Noël de la Brault, of the Knights of Rhodes, here conclude the *Sachlikes* that has been copied in mine own hand.' Indeed, a bilingual culture appears to have been fostered on Rhodes. In 1348, the Greek George Kalokyres, a notary of the Hospital, is known to have drawn up documents in Greek and Latin, while, in 1406, the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti was to travel to the island to study Greek letters.

'from grammatical Greek into vulgar Greek' and then 'from Greek [. . .] into Aragonese',[8] respectively by the φιλόσοφος Demetres Kalodikes of Salonica and by Nicholas, titular bishop of Adrianople and a Dominican. Either of these persons could have been the scholar 'from Greece', who was recorded in a letter from Juan I to Heredia as having already been employed as a translator, and whose arrival was expected in Avignon in late 1384 and early 1385.[9] One of them, most probably the Latin cleric Nicholas, who translated from vernacular Greek to Aragonese in the case of the *Plutarco*, may have undertaken an equivalent duty for the *Chronicle of Morea*.

The fulsome nature of the information pertaining to the *Libro de los fechos* may be contrasted to that available for the *Istoria della Morea*, the Italian version of the *Chronicle*. Only the most general points can be determined regarding the circumstances of this version's creation. Part of the difficulty stems from the fact that the surviving manuscript (Ital.) is a modern copy executed in the eighteenth century.[10] It would seem, from internal evidence, that the text it contains was produced as a translation and summary from the Greek no earlier than the sixteenth century, and that a Venetian carried out the task. The presence of dialect features may be noted: 'zonti' ('joined', p.416); 'abbrazzato' ('embraced', p.467); 'Zephalonia' ('Cephalonia', p.468).[11] Although the text is ignorant of many aspects of the history and topography of the medieval Principality of Morea, misconstruing the names of certain baronial families ('Zuan Menoili' instead of 'Jean de Nully', p.428; 'Giva de Muilet' instead of 'Jean de Nivelet', p.428), as well as of certain castles (e.g. 'Parsuna' instead of 'Passava', p.428), some familiarity is displayed regarding the early modern topography of one specific region of the peninsula, namely the area to the north-east near Nauplion and Corinth. Interpolations have been added, for example, on the subject of the

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[8] See Luttrell (1960, repr. 1978) XX, 403 n.10: 'di gramatica greca in vulgar Greco [. . .] di Greco [. . .] in Aragonese'. Although the manuscript of the Aragonese Plutarch produced for Heredia has been lost, its existence is known from a later incomplete copy, from extracts in the *Grant crónica de Espanya* and the *Crónica de los conquiridores*, and, finally, from comments preserved in a rendition in Italian. It is the comments in the Italian version that preserve vital information regarding the translation process.

[9] On 17 November 1384, Juan I wrote that he had heard Heredia had with him 'un philosoffo de Grecia qui vos translada libros de grech en nostra lengua' ('a philosopher who has been translating books from Greek into our language'), while on 11 December 1384, having most likely been told that the the philosopher was in fact not yet in Avignon, the King referred to the impending arrival of both the man and his books. This may indicate that the individual involved had already been assigned certain manuscripts for translation which he was then to bring with him to the papal court, where he was presumably to complete whatever was outstanding, and also carry out further work. See Luttrell (1960, repr. 1978) XX, 404.

[10] See Papadopoulou (2000) 94–5.

[11] See Hopf (1873) xvi. This assumes, however, that these features were not added by later copyists.

place-names of two foothills below Acrocorinth: 'Perchè Coranto è sopra un monte, diruppò un altro monte opposito a Coranto dalla parte d'ostro detto Monte Stuffè—ora detto S. Baseggio—, e sopra quello edificò un castello, e dall'altra parte verso tramontana Megachin ne fabricò un'altro sopra un altro monte ditto ora Ainori' (p.436).[12] Until 1540 and again after 1685, Venice had significant territorial interests in the Peloponnese. In addition to Modon and Coron, which had been acquired in the thirteenth century, a further twenty-six Peloponnesian strongholds had passed into the possession of the Serenissima in the second half of the fifteenth century; although these gains had subsequently been surrendered to the Ottomans, an attempt was made in the late seventeenth century to recover the lost lands and, indeed, to annex the entire peninsula. These circumstances may go some way towards explaining the existence of a suitable readership for the Moreot *Chronicle* among the republic's citizens.[13] It cannot be said whether the *Istoria della Morea* was produced in an official capacity, although editions of material pertaining to Southern Greece are known to have been commissioned by the Venetian Senate.[14]

As we have seen, the 'when', 'where', 'how', and 'why' behind the text are questions relatively easily resolved for the *Libro de los fechos*, but only partly answerable for the *Istoria della Morea*. These cases afford a convenient introduction to the types of concerns to be addressed in the argument which follows. In order to shed light on the pressures which governed the evolution of the *Chronicle of Morea*, discrete stages in the work's life will be traced, highlighting the dates and places at which possible transmission occurred, together with the means by which this may have been accomplished. In addition, the underlying reasons for this transmission will be looked at, with particular attention being paid to pertinent cultural characteristics of the milieux in which the *Chronicle* was received. Apart from the two oldest and most important versions of the work, the French and Greek, also to be considered is material drawn from codices of other texts, as well as from chancellery archives, private correspondence, wills, inventories of library collections, and other documents. Information will be weighed up from the Valois Duchy of Burgundy and the County of Hainault; from Venice; from the Angevin Kingdom of Naples or Regno; and, finally, from Constantinople, the Despotate of Mistra, Epirus, and the Aegean.

[12] 'Because Acrocorinth is on a mountain, he [Prince Guillaume II de Villehardouin] made haste to another mountain opposite Acrocorinth, to the south, then called Mont Escovée and today called San Baseggio; and there he built a castle; and on the other side of Acrocorinth, towards the north, the Megas Kyr built another castle on another mountain that is today called Ainori.'

[13] *Chroniques gréco-romanes,* ed. Hopf (1873) 205–6. More generally on the history of Venetian possessions in the Peloponnese and the Aegean world, see Thiriet (1959) 29–178.

[14] See Recoura (1930) 63–79.

TRANSMISSION TO NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE

Of the versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*, the evidence regarding the French version, the *Livre de la conqueste*, is especially rich, lending itself to detailed treatment. Indeed, the specifics of the development of this version can be traced in inverse chronological order, from the fifteenth century to the fourteenth. Of particular importance is a document relating to Philippe le Bon. The third of the Valois dukes of Burgundy, Philippe inherited or otherwise accumulated a library of over nine hundred volumes. An inventory of his books,[15] drawn up in 1467 or 1469, after his death, includes an entry that not merely refers to the French *Chronicle of Morea,* but designates the only manuscript of that version now in existence: 'Ung livre couvert de cuir noir, en papier, intitulé *Ce livre parle de la conqueste de la Morée*; començant ou second feuillet, *Ly princes Philipe de Savoie*, et ou dernier, *entrer*'.[16] Although the title is very slightly different, in other respects the correspondence between the exemplar inventoried in this entry and B seems total: the chronological table that precedes the main text of B does indeed contain the words 'li princes Philippes de Savoie' on the top of fo. 5v., while the word 'entrer' is found at the beginning of fo. 181r., after a lacuna. Thus, one of the successive inventories of the library of the dukes of Burgundy provides a crucial indication with regard to the *Chronicle*'s transmission westwards. The date of its acquisition needs to be determined, as also does the channel by which this acquisition came about.

Entry into the Burgundian Library

Some of the manuscripts in the library were of texts composed for the Burgundian dukes, or of revised editions or straightforward copies commissioned by

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[15] The study of the collections of books owned by the Burgundian dukes is greatly facilitated by the survival of nine inventories. Of these, three, although drawn up under Maximilian of Austria and dating to 1485, 1487, and 1504 respectively, furnish supplementary information on a number of manuscripts that had been possessed by the dukes, but which are absent from earlier inventories or inadequately catalogued. The most important inventories, however, are the six (Lille, Archives du nord, série B 3501 123.754 bis) from 1404 to 1467/9, which were put together at the deaths of Philippe le Hardi (1404), of his wife Marguerite de Flandres (1405), of Jean sans Peur (1420), of his wife Marguerite de Bavière (1423/4), of Philippe le Bon (1467/9), and of Charles le Téméraire (1477). These six inventories consist of an enumeration not only of books but also of other precious objects, such as jewels, plate, robes, and tapestries. For further details, see Doutrepont (1909) xxxiii ff. An examination of material supplementary to the inventories has been published for the years 1384–1419 in Cockshaw (1969) 122–44.

[16] 'A book, covered in black leather, on paper, entitled *This Book Speaks of the Conquest of the Morea*; commencing on the second page with [the words] *The Prince Philippe de Savoie*, and, on the last [page] with [the word] *enter*.' Barrois (1830) 221.

them of older works; others, however, had been acquired through inheritance, donation, or in a more random manner. With regard to the *Chronicle of Morea*, a number of scenarios can be suggested. The dates of the last Burgundian inventory from which the *Chronicle* is absent and of the first in which it is attested are respectively 1423/4 and 1467/9. A possibility is thus that the *Chronicle* was acquired in this period as a result of activities of the type undertaken by the Burgundian courtier Bertrandon de la Broquière, who, during travels in the eastern Mediterranean from *c.*1431 to *c.*1439, not only purchased at least one book for Philippe le Bon, but also touched land at Venetian Modon in the Peloponnese, where the family of le Maure, with whom the early *Chronicle* can be associated, owned a town-house.[17] However, the first record of any text in the inventories of the dukes of Burgundy should not be taken as definite proof of the date of acquisition of that text. Omitted from the inventories until 1467/9, for example, was the *Livres des faits et bonnes moeurs du sage roi Charles V*, although a manuscript can be shown not only to have been commissioned by Philippe le Hardi, the grandfather of Philippe le Bon, but to have been executed and delivered by Christine de Pisan as early as November 1404.[18] For this reason, it cannot be excluded that the *Chronicle of Morea*, although not attested in the inventory of 1423/4, had in reality been acquired before that date. Indeed, a mission undertaken in 1421 to the Levant by Ghillebert de Lannoy followed a route which could have led to contact with the *Chronicle*, for the diplomat and spy made his way from island to island in the Mediterranean and thence to

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[17] Doutrepont (1909) 249; Atiya (1965) 198. Apart from the case of Bertrandon de la Broquière, a number of other opportunities may have arisen in the same years. In *c.*1444/5, it should be noted, two small naval contingents under the general command of the Burgundian Waleran de Wavrin, heading to Constantinople in order to fight the Ottomans, also called in briefly at Modon, disembarking a small detachment of approximately three hundred soldiers. In addition, from *c.*1447 to *c.*1467, the presence is recorded in the ducal archives of a small trickle of ambassadors and refugees who are described, for the most part, as hailing 'from the city of Constantinople' or 'from the marchlands of Constantinople', rather than 'from the land of Greece', but for whom an association of some sort with the Peloponnese may nevertheless be posited, often because of the patronymics borne by these persons (e.g. 'Marc de Modon; 'Jehan de la Mouree'; 'Assaneuz de Acarye […] of the land of the Morea'; 'Mauphey Arcoclescos [or Arcrelescos], by God's grace bishop of Melacona [or Melacova] in the land of the Morea, Nicolas Cappella, presbyter, Cristofle de Pancanty, both from the aforesaid land'; 'Gregary de Moree'). Finally, attempts in the period from *c.*1434 to *c.*1465 by the Order of Saint John of the Hospital to involve the Duke of Burgundy in the Order's projects for the maintenance and reconquest of its possessions should be mentioned, as these also appear to have resulted in the to-ing and fro-ing of envoys and messengers; such Hospitaller projects, however, as was only natural, focused for the most part on the defence of Rhodes. A rather impractical plan was on one occasion drafted by the Hospitallers that related to the Peloponnese, but this, redacted in Modon in 1464 by Jean de Faÿ, although ostensibly addressed to Philippe le Bon, never appears to have reached its destination, for the Duke and his counsellors can be shown to have remained entirely unaware of its contents. Paviot (2003) 102, 105, 111, 144, 254, 280, 282, 283.

[18] Rec. gén. des Finances, 5/11/1405–19/11/1406, cited in Cockshaw (1969) 137–8.

Judea, returning via Rhodes and Venice.[19] Alternatively, the *Chronicle* could have
been obtained in the aftermath of the failed Nicopolis campaign of 1396 and the
imprisonment by the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid of the heir to the Duchy and
nominal leader of the crusade, the young Jean de Nevers, as well as of many
notable Burgundian courtiers.[20] Efforts to secure the liberation of these indivi-
duals led to the appointment of an official embassy to negotiate the ransom to be
paid to the Turkish sultan, while tailors and other household servants were also
dispatched to look after their imprisoned masters' well-being.[21] After at least
nine months of captivity at Gallipoli and Bursa, Jean began to travel home with
his companions in what has been described as 'a leisurely fashion'.[22] They
stopped at Lesbos for more than a month in July and August, and were offered
hospitality by the Hospitallers at Rhodes, before reaching Venice in October,
where their homeward journey was further delayed for several months while
they found the means to repay the sums that had been advanced by Italian
merchants and bankers to cover their ransom. As they skirted the Peloponnese,
Jean de Nevers and his entourage seem to have put in at Modon and also at
Glarentza or Clarence.[23] Nor did the episode close with the return of the party to
Dijon and the organization there of a memorial service for those 'qui ont
trespasses en la bataille contre Beizac',[24] for a mission was soon sent back to
the eastern Mediterranean in order to recover the mortal remains of Guy de
Tremoille, one of the Burgundian participants at Nicopolis whose ill-health had
led to his death after he had been allowed to leave prison on a pledge of honour.
Significantly, that mission, whose ultimate objective was to reach the island of
Rhodes, also made a detour 'es parties d'Athenes', to Aegina off the coast of
Attica, where it was expected to seek out and obtain an especially coveted holy
relic—the head of Saint George.[25] These journeys undertaken by Burgundians as
a result of Nicopolis, and in particular the slow progress home of Jean de Nevers
following his release, would have afforded more than ample time for an existing
manuscript of the French *Chronicle* to be purchased, or indeed a new copy or
even a translation to be made.

A Venetian Contribution

Even if the evidence provided by the Burgundian inventories is accurate, the
assumption should not necessarily be made that the *Chronicle* first appeared

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[19] Doutrepont (1909) 245.   [20] Jacoby (1968b) 249–50.
[21] Paviot (2003) 40–8.   [22] Vaughan (1962, repr. 2002) 72.
[23] Jean Froissart, *Œuvres*, vol. 16, ed. de Lettenhove (Brussels: 1867–77, repr. Osnabrück:
1967) 52, 54; Jacoby (1968b) 149, n.68; Paviot (2003) 49.
[24] 'who died in the battle against [the Sultan] Bayazid.' Paviot (2003) 49.
[25] 'in the region of Athens.' Paviot (2003) 51 and Setton (1973) 1–7.

in north-western Europe during the period of that region's domination by the Valois dukes. The County of Champagne, from which the ruling Villehardouin dynasty of the Principality of Morea originated, bordered the County of Hainault and other territories annexed by the Burgundians. Moreover, Florent de Hainault, the younger brother of the Count of Hainault, Jean d'Avesnes, did not, upon his marriage to Princess Isabeau de Villehardouin in 1290, relinquish his domains of Braine and Halle. Rather, these continued to be administered in his name and were inherited in turn by his daughter, Mahaut de Hainault.[26] In her old age, Isabeau de Villehardouin herself chose to retire to Valenciennes to be with her kin. There is thus extensive evidence of contact between north-western Europe and the Morea during the period from 1290 to 1312. Indeed, such contact must have persisted even later, for Mahaut lived until 1331.[27] Also revealing is the fact that the cultural achievements of the court of Hainault-Holland, prior to its annexation by the Burgundians and the transfer of power in 1428, were of a nature that should not be disparaged.[28] With the annexation, a sizeable library previously belonging to the Countess of Hainault, Jacqueline of Bavaria, is known to have passed into the collection of the Duke of Burgundy. Among the books chanced upon by the Duke's officials sorting through the moveable property of the Countess may have been the *Chronicle of Morea*.

If this surmise is correct, then the Counts of Hainault may have had possession of the *Chronicle of Morea* considerably before the Burgundian annexation of 1428. Indeed, behind the text's transmission to north-western Europe could have been one of the foremost crusading propagandists of the fourteenth century, the Venetian Marino Sanudo Torsello (*c.*1270–1343). A badly mutilated letter, dated to March 1337, survives from Sanudo to Guillaume, Count of the Hainault, of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland (Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 5842, fos. 2–3).[29] Its importance lies in the fact that Sanudo, when enumerating the books, maps, and drawings sent to Guillaume de Hainault on the occasion of their previous correspondence, mentions a narrative 'that deals with the conquest of Constantinople and with many other things'.[30] The relevant passage has lacunae and the identity of the work referred to is uncertain;

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[26] Longnon (1949) 264–91.

[27] Buchon (1845a) xxiii–xxiv.

[28] Blockmans and Prevenier (1999) 71.

[29] From internal references the letter can be shown to postdate the death of Giotto on 8 January 1336, but pre-date that of Guillaume on 7 June 1337. The occasion of its writing is likely to have been the departure of a convoy from Venice to Flanders in March 1337. See de la Roncière and Dorez (1895) 32, 43–4.

[30] 'qui traite de la conqueste de Constantinople et de molt autres choses.'

however, there are indications in Sanudo's *Istoria del Regno di Romania* that the Venetian may have known the *Chronicle of Morea*.

A comparison of the *Chronicle* with the extant Italian translation of Sanudo's history of Frankish Greece reveals that the two works often replicate the same information. Particularly striking is a sequence in the *Istoria* which recounts the struggle between the Prince of the Morea and the Duke of Athens, the alliance between the Principality and Epirus, the battle of Pelagonia and its consequences, as well as the scandalous behaviour of Geoffroy de Briel in abandoning the Principality at an hour of great need. This stands out because, while it is shorter than the equivalent in the *Chronicle,* it does follow practically the same narrative order and contains many of the same digressions (H vv.2756–5921 and B §§189–414; *Istoria,* pp.107–29). Thus, for instance, both the *Chronicle* and Sanudo's *Istoria* explain in similar terms the absence at the battle of Prinitsa of Geoffroy de Briel, lord of Karytaina, as well as his general failure to participate in the defence of the region of the Alpheios and Gortys rivers, commenting that he succumbed to the folly of adulterous love for a certain lady, which led him to cross with her over to Apulia in order to indulge his passion ('out of love for a woman, and possessed by sin', H v.5750 and 'love of a woman [. . .] so ensnared and deceived the nobleman', B §399; 'so possessed by love for a certain woman that he became mad', *Istoria,* p.125).[31] We are told that Geoffroy, while in Apulia, was interviewed by King Manfred of Sicily, and, having confessed his misdemeanour, received a sound rebuke and was ordered to return and make amends to Guillaume de Ville-hardouin, his Prince and kinsman (H vv.5739–921 and B §§398–414; *Istoria,* pp.125–7); he then spent the remainder of his life defending the Principality with the aid of Italian troops (H vv.7187–212 and B §§494–6; *Istoria,* p.127). Both the *Chronicle* and the *Istoria* conclude not only by referring to the fact that Geoffroy died without heirs, but by summarizing the fate of the offspring of his widow's remarriage, in the course of which numerous genealogical details are provided (H vv.7213–300 and B §§497–500; *Istoria,* p.127). Such parallels between the *Chronicle* and the *Istoria* are all the more significant because they frequently take the form of historical inaccuracies. For example, the *Chronicle*'s mistaken attribution to Geoffroy I de Villehardouin of the title of 'Lord of the Morea', but not that of 'Prince', a title it reserves for Geoffroy II (H v.2437 and B §172; H v.2605 and B §185), is also found in the *Istoria* (p.103).[32] By far the simplest explanation is that Sanudo derived his information from the Moreot *Chronicle*.

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[31] 'ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας δαιμονικῆς, διὰ γυναικὸς ἀγάπην […]'; 'amour de femme […] si deçut et engigna ainxi le gentil homme'; 'impazzì per amor d'una donna talmente che deventò insensato'.
[32] For documents entitling Geoffroy I 'Prince', see Longnon (1946) 83.

Often forced to forgo the opportunity to travel, Sanudo depended upon the written word to promote zeal for the crusading movement. He was consummate in using all the possibilities offered by this medium, for he was in the habit of sending books, news bulletins, memoranda, and personal letters in bundles or singly to the people he targeted.[33] With a small army of scribes, painters, and cartographers in his employment to aid with this task, Sanudo's contribution to the library collections of Western Europe was one of the most significant of the fourteenth century. The French court alone must have been littered with 'bits of Sanudoana,'[34] while the brother-in-law to the King of France, Guillaume de Hainault, was another recipient of a ceaseless flow of such material. Was it indeed the *Chronicle* that was sent by Sanudo to Count Guillaume de Hainault?[35] If it was, then the form of the text transmitted by this means may not have been very different to that preserved in B. After all, Sanudo himself could both read and write French.[36] Moreover, he is known to have appreciated the value of summaries, sending the Cardinal du Poyet and Jean de Limbourg the rubrics of his own *Secreta* or *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Cruces super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conservatione*, and to Philip VI in 1332 a brief compendium, to whet the appetite.[37] Even though the actual manuscript of B was copied in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth

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[33] Tyerman (1982) 66.

[34] Tyerman (1982) 65, 68. Recipients of the Venetian's writings included Charles IV, Philip VI Louis of Clermont, Bishop Durand, Robert de Boulogne, and unnamed cardinals, bishops, and lords.

[35] There are another three possibilities regarding the identification of the mysterious narrative. Because, in the letter sent to Guillaume de Hainault, a decipherable fragment preceding the reference to a text 'qui traite de la conqueste de Constantinople et de molt autres choses' concerns 'le livre des secrés des loiaus', Sanudo's major achievement, begun in 1306 and completed in 1321, the *Secreta* or *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Cruces super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conservatione*, it is conceivable that the *Secreta* and the work dealing with the conquest of Constantinople were one and the same (see Tyerman (1982) 57, 60 and Leopold (2000) 39–40). Another possibility is that the work should be identified with Sanudo's other lengthy composition, the Latin original of the extant *Istoria del Regno di* Romania; this was composed between 1326 and 1336, and continued to receive additions up to *c*.1343, but, as the *Secreta* had done, may have circulated in a preliminary draft (Tyerman (1982) 70). It is also worth considering whether the reference is to an exemplar of the *Conquête de Constantinople* by Geoffroy de Villehardouin. Sanudo not only owned Villehardouin's *Conquête,* but also made additions to it which appear to have been disseminated during his lifetime (Hopf (1873, repr. 1966), xxiii; Wolff (1953, repr. 1976) X, 149–59). The difficulty with these identifications is that neither the *Secreta* nor the *Istoria* do more than mention in passing the Fourth Crusade, while Villehardouin's unique focus is that Crusade. None of the three accurately fits Sanudo's description of the work.

[36] Tyerman (1982) 69. Note, however, that it is the Greek and not the French version of the *Chronicle* that was linked to the *Istoria* when Italian translations of both historiographical writings were undertaken at some point during or after the sixteenth century (Venice, Marciana Append. Ital. Cl. VII. No. 712). See above, and also Chapter 1.

[37] Tyerman (1982) 67.

century, there is nothing that need indicate a date later than *c.*1337 for the text contained in that manuscript.

Reception as a Crusader Text

Two contexts for the *Chronicle*'s reception have thus been proposed: the courts of the rulers of Hainault and of Burgundy. The *Chronicle of Morea* had a potential audience in north-west Europe because of the significance to the region of the crusades. The First Crusade had raised Godefroy de Bouillon, Lord of Bonen, to become the uncrowned ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Fourth Crusade had established Baudouin, ninth Count of Flanders and sixth Count of the Hainault, on the throne of Constantinople. These achievements appear to have remained an enduring memory in the Low Countries throughout the late Middle Ages. In the fourteenth century, the *Chronicle of Morea* would have been read in the County of Hainault as family history. Count Guillaume was head of a house which, as well as being related through marriage to the current titular Empress of Constantinople, Catherine de Valois, included among its ancestors not only the first Latin Emperors, but also a Prince of the Morea, Florent de Hainault. Politically, it would have been a tactful move to send him a narrative which recounted the deeds of his ancestors in a heroic vein. In October 1334, Sanudo, increasingly concerned for the defence of Latin Greece, had sent a letter to the French king, Philippe VI de Valois, advocating a replay of the conquest of Constantinople in 1204.[38] The dispatch within a few years of the *Chronicle* to Count Guillaume would have represented for the Venetian an opportunity not to be missed to draw the attention of another western ruler to the Fourth Crusade and its contemporary repercussions. Certainly, Sanudo, who is known to have appended a third book—containing a summary of the Crusades—to his *Secreta* in response to the evolving tastes of his audience,[39] appears not only to have been well aware of the appeal of historical narratives in the West, but also to have sought to capitalize upon that appeal.[40]

After the acquisition of Flanders by the Burgundians in 1369, and of the Hainault in 1428, the crusading past of these lands was incorporated into the ceremonial surrounding the Valois dukes. Thus, a *tableau vivant* which depicted the Latin capture of Constantinople was organized for the triumphal

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[38] Laiou (1970) 391; Kunstmann (1853) 805–6.

[39] Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conservatione: Quo et Terrae Sanctae Historia ab Origine et Eiusdem Vicinarumque Provinciarum Geographica Descriptio Continetur*, ed. Bongars, intro. Prawer (1611, repr. 1972).

[40] Tyerman (1982) 70.

entry of Philippe le Bon into the city of Mons in 1454.[41] Indeed, the third Duke of Burgundy appears to have worked hard to promote an image of himself as a crusader leader. His interest in plans for a crusade found expression in the repeated funding of reconnaissance missions to the Levant in the 1420s and 1430s, as well as in the pledges to undertake an expedition against the Ottomans made by the Duke and his courtiers on 17 February 1454 at the Banquet of the Pheasant at Lille.[42] It was reflected, too, in the contents of the ducal library. Of the seventy-four books classified together with the *Chronicle of Morea* under the heading 'Outremer, Medicine and Astrology' by the Barrois edition of the 1467/9 inventory,[43] more than a third can be described as histories of the crusades, travelogues of voyages to the Levant, guides to the sites of pilgrimage in the Holy Land, or military treatises with advice as to how best to combat 'the Turk'. In addition, over twenty further entries concerning similar texts are to be found under other headings.[44] Many of the writings on the history of the crusades owned by the Burgundian dynasty, and by Philippe le Bon in particular, may have been commissioned or acquired for propagandist purposes, since they were read aloud at public assemblies and at other state occasions.[45] From the inventories, it would seem that the Fourth Crusade was felt to carry special resonance. The Old French epic cycle known as the Crusader Cycle, which received accretions referring to the Latin Emperors of Constantinople, is well attested in the Burgundian library.[46] Also incorporated into the collection

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[41] Doutrepont (1909) 257

[42] Doutrepont (1909) 106–7, 244–65.

[43] 'Oultre-mer, médecine et astrologie.'

[44] For the estimate that the library of Philippe le Bon contained a minimum of 876 items, not including those manuscripts that have come down to us although not recorded by the inventories, see Doutrepont (1909) vii. Given that in his preface Barrois (1830) admits to passing over in silence those items with vague and general titles, together with those in the early inventories that were reproduced in the 'grands inventaires' (i.e. from 1467 onwards), too much faith should not be placed on the inclusiveness of his edition of the inventory of 1467/9. Peignot (1841) cannot act as a corrective, because he published only the inventories of 1404, 1405, 1423/4, and 1477.

[45] Paviot (2003) 228.

[46] The precise evolution of the Cycle is a matter of some dispute, but its beginnings can be dated at the very latest to the end of the twelfth century or beginning of the thirteenth, while an extensive programme of rewriting appears to have been undertaken in the fourteenth century. Of the accretions, the *Baudouin de Flandres* is known from two *mises en prose* and also from two verse fragments of which one, contained in the Saint Pierre de Lille manuscript, preserves sixteen alexandrines relating the death of Baudouin de Flandres, the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople; another work, ostensibly telling the story of Baudouin's successor, the Emperor Henri, survives in a fifteenth-century Spanish prose version, the *Historia de Enrique fi de Oliva, Rey de Jherusalem, Emperador de Constantinopla*. See Cook (1980) vii, 22–8; Cook and Crist (1972) 170; Duparc-Quioc (1955) 271.

were multiple copies of the prose history by Geoffroy de Villehardouin on the conquest of Constantinople and the first years of the Latin Empire of Romania.[47] Interestingly, a different fifteenth-century hand has added a second title to that given to the French *Chronicle of Morea* or *Livre de la conqueste* by the main scribe. That second title, found on the initial folio of the manuscript (3r.), reads: 'History of the Emperor of Constantinople, Baudouin Count of Flanders'.[48] While it is true that the *Chronicle* opens with a brief account of the conquest of Constantinople, the adventures of the Count and Emperor Baudouin are not its main subject. Given the fascination of the Burgundian library with the Fourth Crusade, and in particular with Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople,* it cannot be excluded that the incorporation into that library of our single extant exemplar of the French version of the *Chronicle* was the result of an initial misunderstanding as to the contents of the manuscript. Although the Burgundians could well have had some dim knowledge of the Frankish past of mainland Greece and the Peloponnese, it was the imperial city on the Golden Horn that appears truly to have captured their imagination.[49] They were probably little interested in reading the *Chronicle of Morea* for itself.

There were thus various opportunities for the *Chronicle of Morea* to have entered the collection of the dukes of Burgundy—most plausibly during the reign of Philippe le Bon and after the annexation of the Hainault in 1428. If this was the case, then it may have arrived in the Low Countries by as early as 1337, the year by which the Venetian Marino Sanudo Torsello sent a book with a similar subject matter to Count Guillaume de Hainault. Sanudo himself was very much part of the world in which the *Chronicle of Morea* circulated before its transfer westwards. His mercantile interests and his kinship with the Venetian dukes who governed Naxos had caused him to spend a considerable portion of his life in Romania, and indeed to profit from a lengthy stay in the Peloponnese at some point after 1306.[50] Also of relevance, as will become apparent, is the fact that he had strong connections with the Neapolitan court, where he had been a guest of King Robert I.[51] In the Hainault, the *Chronicle* could have been read as a history of the ruling house. At the Burgundian court, its role would have been rather different. The

[47] For the presence of manuscripts of Villehardouin in the Burgundian library, see Barrois (1830) 147, 189; Omont and Couderc (1896) vol. 2, 470–1; Vaughan (1962, repr. 2002) 195; Hughes (1978) 185.

[48] 'Histoire de l'empeureur de Constantinople, Baulduin comte de Flandres.'

[49] Paviot (2003) 207–27.

[50] Papadopoulou (2000) 3–9.

[51] Tyerman (1982) 71.

presence in the ducal library both of it and of other narratives referring to the Fourth Crusade should be seen in the context of Valois attempts to appropriate the prestige of the crusading tradition of the Low Countries.

AT THE CENTRE: THE ANGEVIN KINGDOM OF NAPLES

Whatever the reasons for and precise means by which the transmission of the *Chronicle* to north-western Europe was achieved, the process required the existence of a French version of the *Chronicle*. Unique to that version (as preserved by B) is not only a reference to Catherine de Valois in hyperbolic terms in the main text (§86), but also the inclusion of a lengthy passage devoted to her in the chronological table (p.405).[52] Catherine was titular Empress of Constantinople and regent, for her son, of the erstwhile Villehardouin Principality of Morea. In addition, as the widow of Philip of Taranto, she continued until her death in 1346 to hold an important rank in the Neapolitan court of her husband's brother, King Robert I. The extant French version's connection with Catherine de Valois implies in turn an Angevin connection. It is no coincidence that, of all the versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*, B is the most outspoken in its approval for the Angevins, repeatedly referring to the founder of the dynasty as the 'good king Charles' (§§415, 433, 436, 437, 460, 498, 558, 587).

In 1266, after a campaign in Italy, Charles d'Anjou had established himself on the throne of Naples and Palermo: the 'Two Sicilies', long the turntable of the Mediterranean, had fallen to the French royal house.[53] In the following year (1267), Charles became the suzerain of the Principality of Morea. For over a century, close political ties were maintained between Angevin Italy and the Peloponnese. These events provided an appropriate context for the creation of the French version of the *Chronicle*, both because of the degree to which literary exchange was facilitated under the Angevins, but also because of the position in the Neapolitan court occupied by French as the language of secular culture.

Literary Exchange

The earliest evidence, in fact, concerns the period just before the descent of Charles d'Anjou into Italy. Compiled between 1253 and 1265, the *Chansonnier du roi*, an anthology of poetry set to music, includes two love poems attributed

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[52] See Chapter 1.   [53] Abulafia (1997) xv, 3–27 and 57–62.

to 'Li prince de le mourée' (Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 844, fo. 4).
Originally, the identity of their author would have been confirmed by a lavishly
illuminated portrait resplendent with heraldic symbols, but this has been
vandalized, a fate suffered by another forty-five of the sixty miniatures of the
manuscript.[54] Nonetheless, a tentative identification may be proposed with
one of the Moreot princes, perhaps Guillaume II.[55] These poems are immedi-
ately followed by a third poem, by another author, who, portrayed bearing the
arms of a son of the royal house of France and designated as 'Li cuens danjou',[56]
must consequently be identified with Charles d'Anjou.[57] This juxtaposition is
of particular importance since there are indications that the *Chansonnier* was
created for Charles himself and may contain autograph additions by him.[58]
Already by 1249–50, the participation of the Villehardouin Prince of Morea,
Guillaume II, in the Seventh Crusade had led him to meet in person both
Charles d'Anjou and his elder brother, King Louis the Pious, and indeed to
fight the entirety of the Egyptian campaign alongside them.[59] It may be that
the first cultural contact between the Villehardouin rulers of the Principality
and the French royal house was a consequence of this meeting.

Following the establishment in 1267 of Angevin suzerainty over the Princi-
pality of Morea, this contact appears to have intensified. There are indications
that at least five literary works either travelled to the Peloponnese from Italy,
or originated there and were subsequently disseminated across the Ionian
Sea.[60] Indicative of the type of textual transmission which occurred is the case
of the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure. This narrative poem, dating
to *c*.1160, appears to have arrived at some point in the thirteenth century in
the Peloponnese, where, as well as a Greek translation in verse (the Πόλεμος
τῆς Τρωάδος), it produced a prose version in French. Still in the thirteenth
century, a branch of this new prose version became known in southern Italy.
Once there, it continued to evolve in an Angevin environment, receiving an
Italian prose paraphrase at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[61]

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[54] J. Beck and L. Beck, vol. 1 (1938) x.
[55] Longnon (1939) 100, who accepted the interpretation of 'Li prince de le mourée' as a
reference to 'The Prince of Morea'. J Beck and L. Beck, vol. 1 (1938) ix, however, interpreted the
phrase as referring to a 'Prince of the Moors', and identified the author of the two poems with the
count of Jaffa and king of Jerusalem from 1162, Amauri, son of Foulque le Jeune.
[56] 'The Count of Anjou.'
[57] For details see the black and white facsimile in J. Beck and L. Beck (1938) vol. 1, 6 and
description in vol. 2, 20.
[58] J. Beck and L. Beck, vol. 1 (1938) ix, but others have questioned this interpretation.
See Dyggve (1949) 166 and Asperti (1995) 43–88.
[59] Longnon (1949) 219, 235.
[60] Cupane (1995), to which may be tentatively added a Greek translation of the *Teseida*.
[61] E. M. Jeffreys (1993) 319; Jung (1996) 440–84, 505–62; Shawcross (2003) 137–8, 140–3.

Insight into the mechanisms that made such transmission possible can be gained from documentary and codicological information regarding the private libraries and literary contacts of two noblemen: Leonardo da Veroli and Niccolò Acciaiuoli. The earlier of these, da Veroli, was not only related by marriage to Guillaume II de Villehardouin and appointed Chancellor of Morea by him, but also developed close ties with Charles I d'Anjou. In *c.*1277, da Veroli moved back from the Peloponnese to his native Italy, where he became a prominent figure in the Neapolitan court.[62] At his death in Italy in 1281, an inventory was drawn up of his possessions, including his books (Reg. 42, f. 62t. and Reg. 38, f. 93t.).[63] The entries in this inventory point to the possession of a single Greek volume, but also to possible access to works in French: among over thirty items recorded was 'liber grecus unus' while the two largest groups were those of 'Romanzi V' and 'veteribus libris de romanzis IX'.[64] It is likely that da Veroli had kept his library, in whole or in part, with him during the seventeen years he spent in the Peloponnese. The later courtier, Acciaiuoli, wielded considerable power as the banker of the Angevins, becoming Chamberlain to King Robert d'Anjou in 1325, and holding the even more illustrious office of Grand Seneschal of the Kingdom of Sicily from 1348.[65] His financial interests in the Peloponnese were extensive, for in the years 1335 to 1338 he built up estates in the regions of Elis, Arcadia, and Kalamata, to which was added the barony of Corinth in 1358.[66] As an ardent book collector, Acciaiuoli may have facilitated the transfer of a number of western literary works to the Peloponnese, particularly during the period from 1338 to 1341, when he resided there in the suite of the Empress and Regent Catherine de Valois. Renditions into the Medieval Greek vernacular survive of three Italian romances for which some connection with Acciaiuoli can be postulated.[67] Of these, two, the *Cantare di Fiorio e Bianco-fiore* and the *Teseida*, were either written or used by Giovanni Boccaccio, whose friendship Acciauioli had cultivated from *c.*1331;[68] the third romance, that of *Apollonius of Tyre,* figures as the 'Gesta piisimi Apollonie Tirii Regis' in a list, written or dictated *c.*1348 or *c.*1360 by Acciaiuoli's sister Lapa, of

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[62] Filangieri *et al.* (eds.) (1976) 71, 74, 112, 176.

[63] Ibid. 176–9.

[64] 'one Greek book', 'five romances', and 'nine old romances' or, alternatively, 'nine old books in the romance tongue'. Weiss (1950) 205–6; Jacoby (1984) 625 and 635, and (1986) 166.

[65] Buchon (1845c) 74.

[66] For a detailed account of Niccolò Acciaiuoli's possessions in the Morea, see Buchon (1845c) 30–114, and in particular 109–12. For an edition of the privileges and other documents pertaining to Niccolò Acciaiuoli's ownership of these lands, see Buchon (1845d) 31–207.

[67] Cupane (1995).

[68] Spadaro (1966); Garufi (1982–3) 303–4.

ninety-eight manuscripts that were in Grand Seneschal's possession and may have been his personal property.[69] Acciaiuoli's contribution to the movement of texts going in the contrary direction, from the Peloponnese to Naples, is less well documented, although his friend Boccaccio may have based one of the tales in his *Decameron* on a Peloponnesian legend,[70] while Lapa's list refers to a trilingual Psalter which included Greek.[71]

It would appear that literary exchange was aided in no small measure by individuals whose political careers spanned both the Angevin Kingdom of Naples and the Principality of Morea. Apart from da Veroli and Acciaiuoli, other potential carriers are recorded. Under Charles I, for example, Ancelin and Philippe de Toucy, together with other Moreot noblemen, entered Angevin service, taking up residence in the Regno, while officers such as Philippe de Langonesse, a man originally from the King's western possessions, were posted for extended periods of time in the Peloponnese.[72] Overlords of the Villehardouin, the Angevins at the height of their glory also claimed territories stretching from the Holy Land to Provence and north-western Europe, providing an unprecedented opportunity for the migration of texts.

The Impact of French

The thirteenth-century arrivals from France and Provence who initially made up the ranks of the military leaders, clergy, and administrative personnel of the conquered Regno came over time to be replaced in these positions of power by Florentines and other Italians. The intellectuals, too, who developed links with the Angevins included Petrarch and Boccaccio, cultivators and champions of the Tuscan dialect.[73] Even so, for more than a hundred years, the most prominent literary tradition of a secular nature in the Italian

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[69] Although the posthumous inventory for Acciaiuoli, dating to 1365/6, mentions only eight books, an explanation for this may be found in Acciaiuoli's will of 1359, which implies that the Seneschal had already donated all his books during his lifetime to the Certosa monastery of San Lorenzo which he founded on the outskirts of Florence. For an edition of Lapa's inventory see Chiappelli (1928) 465–70, for the posthumous inventory Tocco (2001) 357–60, and for the will Buchon (1845d) 161–98.

[70] Although Uitti (1994) 282–6 and Rodrigues, vol. 1 (1996) 209–12 argue that the material in the *Decameron* concerns the marriage of Geoffroy II de Villehardouin to a daughter of the Latin Emperor Robert, more convincing is a parallel with the story of the Moreot noblewoman referred to in Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria di Romania,* ed. Papadopoulou (2000) 129.

[71] Chiappelli (1928) 467; the Psalter, however, could have been from southern Italy, where a number of monastic libraries contained copies of ecclesiastical works in Greek (Weiss (1950), 205).

[72] Dunbabin (1998) 92, 187, 192.

[73] Abulafia (2000) 98 n.28.

peninsula was that written in French.[74] South of the Alps, imported texts in the *langue d'oil*, most notably 'franceschi romanzi', circulated,[75] while local authors also used the same tongue. In the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Martino da Canal justified the linguistic choice made by him for his chronicle, the *Estoires de Venise*, by explaining that the 'French language is known throughout the world and is more pleasing to read and to hear than any other'.[76] In the middle of the fourteenth century, Niccolò da Verona, the author of an epic, the *Prise de Pampelune*, boasted that he had 'narrated many tales in the language of France | both in verse and in prose'.[77] More interesting still is the case of the *Divisament dou monde*, which was apparently set down in French by Rustichello da Pisa *c.*1298, and constitutes the original narrative of the travels of Marco Polo.[78] At Venice in 1307, the traveller himself gave the 'premiere coppie'—the original or first copy—of the work to an aristocrat, Thibaut de Chepoy, entrusting him with the task of conveying it as a gift to Charles de Valois and Catherine de Courtenay.[79] This couple were members of the Angevin court, and the parents of Catherine de Valois. All these texts share certain linguistic peculiarities, for the *langue d'oil* used in their composition is one laced with Italianisms, though in varying quantity. Thus, in manuscripts of the *Divisament dou monde*, we encounter, for example, 'confin' ('until', §39), 'primaveille' ('spring-time', §92), and 'seique' ('mint', §95), derived respectively from the Italian 'confine', 'primavera', and 'zeccha', as well as a tendency to use 'que', a calque of 'che', where one would normally expect the relative subject 'qui'.[80] Similar features can be noted in the *Livre de la conqueste* or French *Chronicle of Morea*, where we find the words 'coigna' ('in-law', §438) and 'flumare' ('river', §464), derived from the Italian 'cognato' and 'flumara', together with a repeated use of the expression 'fin a' ('until', §10, 155, 204, 533, 566), which can be identified as a transposition of 'fino a', while a preference is also displayed for the placing of the pronoun 'le', 'la', or 'les' after the verb (e.g. 'mener le', §450), for the use of 'leur' instead of 'eux' (e.g.

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[74] Provençal poetry, in contrast, does not appear to have been sponsored by the Angevins of Naples. Dunbabin (1998) 206 has shown Charles I to have been 'a prince at whose death troubadours did not weep', while those who undertook to revise this image have been forced to admit that there is no manuscript evidence (Asperti (1995) 213–15).

[75] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. Bianchi (1952) 1217: 'French romances'.

[76] Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani (1972) 2: 'lengue franceise cort parmi le monde et est la plus delictable a lire et a oïr que nule autre'.

[77] Cited in Meyer (1904) 90: 'je […] ai ja, pour vers e pour sentence | contié maintes istoires en la lingue de France'.

[78] Marco Polo, *La Description du monde*, ed. Badel (1997).

[79] Ibid. 37, 48.

[80] Ménard (2001) 84–8 (2004) 33–4.

'se conseilla a leur', §789), and for 'de' instead of 'que' (e.g. 'ils sont plus de nous', §294).[81]

The Kingdom of Naples was at the centre of the promotion of French as a language of fashion. That this was the case is indicated by the continued production of new French works specifically for the Angevin court.[82] In 1282, Adam de la Halle, the most talented of the poets of Arras, travelled to Naples, where he produced a play, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, and left unfinished at his death a romance-epic, *Le Roi de Sicile*, celebrating in rhymed *laisses* the life of Charles, 'the most noble prince, both in deeds and in disposition'.[83] De la Halle is known to have belonged to the household of Robert d'Artois, nephew to Charles I, a circumstance that suggests Charles and his kinsmen appreciated the importance of the *trouvères*. Under later Angevin rulers, further compositions in French appear, among which was the *Statut de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit*, whose presentation copy, illuminated by Cristoforo Orimina and resplendent with the arms of the Kingdom of Naples, can be dated to 1354.[84]

Even more revealing, however, are the holdings of the great royal library. Although the library has not been preserved intact, its nature can be partially reconstructed from isolated codices as well as from the references to some one hundred books in the records of expenditure kept by the Angevin chancellery between 1280 and 1342.[85] Apart from an unnamed French romance, Angevin acquisitions included, for instance, exemplars of the *Roumans de Godefroi de Bouillon*, the *Histoire universelle* and the *Faits des Romains*, but also of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, of a translation of Guido de Colonna's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, and of both Rustichello da Pisa's *Palamede* and his *Divisament dou monde* or *Marco Polo*.[86] From this, the place accorded by the library to French vernacular histories, chivalric romances, and travelogues

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[81] 'to lead him'; 'was counselled by them', 'they are more than us'. See Longnon (1911) lxxx–lxxxi.

[82] In the mid-thirteenth century, prior to his conquest of the Regno, Charles had travelled extensively in the Artois and the Hainault, where he had come into contact with the major writers from those regions, and had himself participated in *jeux-partis* or poetry contests. To aid recruitment for the 1265 campaign in Italy, the northern French poet Rutebeuf was commissioned to produce two poems, the *Chanson de Pouille* and *Le Dit de Pouille*; these were followed in 1277 by the *Nouvelle complainte d'outre-mer*. Sarrazin also extensively praised Charles in his *Roman du Hem* of 1278, as did Jean de Meung in his continuation of the *Roman de la Rose* of 1275–80. See Asperti (1995) 9; Dunbabin (1998) 203–9.

[83] Dunbabin (1998) 207; Adam de la Halle, 'Le Roi de Sicile', *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Badel (1995) 376–93, v.11: 'du plus noble prince en proueche et en mours'.

[84] This manuscript still survives, and is now housed at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (f. fr. 4274). For details concerning its content and dating see: Loomis and Loomis (1938) 115; Sabatini (1975) 74; Degenhart and Schmitt (1977) 71.

[85] Coulter (1944) 141–55.

[86] Sabatini (1975) 38, 74, 85, 153; Barone (1886) 584.

is shown to have been considerable.[87] Not only were special ateliers of scribes and of highly specialized illuminators created early on in the Kingdom in order to meet demand,[88] but a sustained interest in these texts can be demonstrated. In the 1320s, a copy of the *Faits de Romains* was created for Charles of Calabria and Marie de Valois, the heirs to the royal throne,[89] while later still, in the 1350s, Louis of Taranto, the consort of their daughter Jeanne I, acquired an exemplar of the *Roman du roy Meliadus de Leonnis et de Guiron le Courtois et du bon chevalier sans paeour*.[90] Thus, the entry of such material appears to have continued unbroken for over a hundred years, from Charles I to Jeanne I. Indeed, according to the *Llibre de les dones* of Francesco Eiximenis, the female component of the Angevin court continued under Queen Jeanne 'to sing in French with a trilling voice' and to comport itself in general 'as do the noble women of France'.[91]

The reign of Robert I in particular provided all the elements conducive to the creation of a French version of the *Chronicle of Morea*. Under King Robert, whose sobriquet was 'the Wise', the holdings of the royal library swelled considerably and literature flourished.[92] With three French princesses—Catherine de Valois, Marie de Valois, and Agnès de Périgord—as Angevin brides, French cultural influence in the Regno reached its height.[93] In *c*.1310, a nobleman of the Regno, the 'conte de Militrée', commissioned the translation of five Latin historiographical works into French.[94] In such an environment, the use of French to recount the history of an Angevin dependency would have attracted a readership, including Catherine de Valois herself.[95] It may be relevant that a

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[87] Bologna (1969) 140, 432; Sabatini (1975) 70; De Castris (1986) 32.

[88] Approximately thirty manuscripts in the French vernacular, mainly sumptuously illustrated copies of Arthurian texts, have been attributed to the Kingdom of Naples. Of these, some can be identified as the possessions of specific princes of the blood, while others can be associated with the Angevin court more generally. See: Loomis and Loomis (1938) 114–15; Buchtal (1971) 16–18; Degenhart and Schmitt (1973) 120–1 and (1977), with the critique in Avril *et al.* (1984) 25; Perriccioli Saggese (1985, 1989); Blanchard (1976) 28–30; Delcorno Branca (1998) 13–76.

[89] Perriccioli Saggese (1979) 51–4 and 104.

[90] Loomis and Loomis (1938) 114–15; Degenhart and Schmitt (1977) 71; Perriccioli Saggese (1985) 51–64; Delcorno Branca (1998) 29.

[91] Morel-Fatio (1885) 69–71: 'de cantar frances, guarguolaiant'; 'axi com fan les dones generoses en França'.

[92] Sabatini (1975) 183–5; Degenhart and Schmitt (1977) 71; Abulafia (1997) 151–4.

[93] Sabatini (1975) 83–91.

[94] Meyer (1904) 83; Sabatini (1975) 38–9.

[95] Niccolò Acciaiuoli, counsellor to Catherine de Valois and tutor to her sons, should not, however, be credited with the composition or even patronage of the extant French version of the *Chronicle* (B), for attempts to link him with the text have rested on an incorrect interpretation of a letter sent in 1362 by Boccaccio to Francesco Nelli (Boccaccio, Ep. XII, 'A Francesco Nelli', ed. Auzzas (1992) 620). The letter can be shown to allude not to B, but to an account by Acciaiuoli

certain amount of expertise in translating from Greek—albeit in classical Greek rather than the vernacular—had developed which could be tapped.[96]

The extant French version of the *Chronicle of Morea* emerges as a characteristic literary product of the reign of Robert the Wise, a period in which the language of the *ultramontagne*, although gradually losing ground to Italian, continued to be admired in the Neapolitan court as the language of secular culture. This French version may well have been intended for Catherine de Valois. Given the continuous exchange of people and texts between the Principality and the Regno, it could have been produced on either side of the Ionian Sea. If a translation of a Greek original, it would still have been the work of an individual who was thoroughly familiar with the Peloponnese, and consequently able to use correctly both Greek and French names in referring to places on the peninsula (e.g. '.j. autre chastel sur mer devers le Ponent entre Clamate et la Grant Maigne, lequel s'appelle en françois Beaufort et en grec s'appelle Lefftro', §207).[97]

ORIGINS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

In order to shed light on the *Chronicle of Morea* before it entered an Angevin context, it is necessary to look eastwards. Although the Greek version of the *Chronicle*—or Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως—may well have been the earliest, little is known about its circulation prior to the sixteenth century. The fourteenth-century H manuscript has as its first recorded owners two Danish scholars, Thomas Bartholin (1616–80) and Hans Gram (1685–1748).[98] Of the remaining manuscripts, P is thought to have entered the library of François I at Fontainebleau; consulted there by one of the most prominent classicists of the

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of the exploits of the Order of the Holy Spirit that had been founded by Louis of Taranto in 1353 (Sabatini (1975) 101; Tocco (2001), 352–6). A crucial phrase has been misread by some scholars (Buchon (1845c) 95 n.1; Longnon (1949) 317, 335; Jacoby (1968b) 186) as referring to the exploits of the Crusaders ('de fatti de cavalieri del santo spedito') rather than, as is in fact the case, to the activities of the Order of the Holy Spirit ('del Santo Spirito'). That said, however, the Greek Θησηίδα, which may owe its existence to the transfer of Boccaccio's *Teseida* by Acciaiuoli to the Peloponnese, is coupled with the Greek *Chronicle of Morea* in one manuscript (P), providing another dimension of evidence for Acciaiuoli's involvement.

[96] Weiss (1950) 195–226; Barone (1886) 581, 583. The archives contain many entries referring to medical and legal Greek texts that were translated, copied, and illuminated for Robert the Wise and his successor Jeanne I. Among the individuals found listed as involved are: Leone de Scolis, Niccolò da Reggio, Loggredo di San Germano, Pietro Anglico, Luca di Spoleto.

[97] 'one other castle on the sea towards the west between Kalamata and Greater Mani, which in French is called *Beaufort* and in Greek *Leftro*.'

[98] Schmitt (1904) xv.

Renaissance, Angelus Vergetius, it was subsequently copied twice, producing P2 and P3 in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively.[99] Only T contains possible information concerning the route of transmission from the Peloponnese, in the form of a note describing a voyage to Italy in 1578 (fos. 129v.–132v.). Given that a lost manuscript in Greek is likely to have been the common ancestor not only of these manuscripts, but of all the versions of the *Chronicle*,[100] we must consider the context in which a history of the Principality of Morea in that language could have been composed.

Constantinople and the Byzantine Historiographical Tradition

Between 1204 and the Byzantine re-conquest of 1261, a higher number of texts than before would have been temporarily available in mainland Greece and the Aegean as a result of the dispersal of refugees from Constantinople.[101] The travels of Nicephorus Blemmydes in 1239 to seek out manuscripts took him to Rhodes, Samos, Lesbos, and then Salonica.[102] Nevertheless, library collections indicate that the circulation of texts within the Greek-speaking world on a grand scale was not a phenomenon confined to the years immediately after the Fourth Crusade. An inventory of 1200/1 for the monastery of Saint John the Divine on the island of Patmos lists three hundred and thirty books, while the output of the scriptorium of Saint John Prodromos in Serres suggests that its fourteenth-century library was at least comparable.[103] According to an estimate based on the shelf-marks of surviving manuscripts, by the early modern period the Great Lavra on Mount Athos had not only accumulated over nine hundred books in its main library but possessed a separate library which catechumens were able to use for their studies.[104] To an extent, Byzantine literary culture does thus appear to have flourished outside the capital.[105]

Two centres in particular can be shown to have reached prominence during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: the Macedonian city of Salonica acquired renown for its libraries and for the accomplishments of its resident scholars,[106] while the Despotate of Mistra experienced an even more enduring cultural efflorescence.[107] Neither of these developments, how-

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[99] Schmitt (1904) xvi–xvii.   [100] See Chapter 1.

[101] Browning (1960) 12.   [102] Constantinides (1982) 13.

[103] Padover (1939) 324; Wilson (1967) 70; Mergiali (1996) 48; Waring (2002).

[104] Wilson (1967) 66.

[105] Where the circulation of Greek manuscripts been discussed, emphasis has been mainly on the transmission of classical authors, as in Browning (1960, 1964, 1975); Wilson (1962, 1975a, 1975b, 1996).

[106] Mergiali (1996) 46; Fryde (2000) 169.

[107] Runciman (1970, 1980).

ever, occurred independently of the Queen of Cities—Constantinople. In-
deed, a glance at the identity of the *literati* present in Mistra reveals mainly
metropolitan scholars who had been forced by their religious and political
convictions to seek their fortune elsewhere: George Gabrielopoulos, Angelos
Kalotheos, Constantine Amantianos, and Agathias the Monk.[108] These exiles
maintained contact with the Byzantine capital by means of an often extensive
correspondence, and considered the natives of the Peloponnese beneath their
notice, deriding them for their coarseness and lack of education.[109] Thus,
Demetrios Kydones wrote disparagingly that if a Peloponnesian came across
the work of an Attic author he would not know its value and, instead of giving
the book his full attention, would sell it for a few coppers.[110] Likewise, in the
letter to Holobolos which makes up the second section of the anonymous-
Journey to Hades, composed *c.*1415, Mazaris, the putative correspondent,
expresses fears that, during his sojourn at Mistra, his Greek will deteriorate
to the level of the patois employed by the Laconians or Tzakones.[111] Such
comments not only echo the laments made by Michael Choniates on the eve
of 1204 regarding the illiteracy of contemporary Athenians, but are equally
found in writers ranging from Antiochus of St Sabas to Theodore Balsa-
mon.[112] Indeed, the indictment of provincialism constitutes a commonplace
of Byzantine *belles lettres*.[113]

In historiography, contempt for those beyond the walls of Constantinople
remained an inherent feature until the mid-fifteenth century. Historical
narratives were almost exclusively written by members of an elite of imperial
courtiers who addressed themselves to readers within the capital. Conse-
quently, even after the Byzantines had regained control of substantial territory
in the Peloponnese and were engaged in a protracted programme of expan-
sion at the expense of the Frankish Principality of Morea, little emphasis was
given to the region in historical writings. During the thirteenth and four-
teenth centuries, neither the histories of Acropolites, Pachymeres, and Gre-
goras nor the chronicle of Skoutariotes contain many references to the
Principality, while they allude even less frequently to events which involved
the Principality's inhabitants but took place outside the Peloponnesian pen-
insula.[114] In Byzantine Mistra itself, a few short annals were produced, such as

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[108] Mergiali (1996) 193–220, 248.   [109] Mergiali (1996) 250–1.
[110] Mergiali (1996) 148; Zakynthenos and Maltezou (1953, rev. 1975) vol. 2, 313.
[111] *Mazaris' Journey to Hades,* ed. Smithies, Share *et al.* (1975) xi, 64.
[112] Padover (1939) 323.
[113] Wilson (1967) 65.
[114] For passages relating to the Principality of Morea, see *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, vol. 1, ed.
Heisenberg, rev. Wirth (1978) §38, §48, §76, §§79–83; George Pachymérès, *Relations historiques:
Livres I–III,* ed. Failler and trans. Laurent, vol. 1 (1984) Book I, Book III §§3, 16–17; Nicephorus

the one covering the period from 1187 to 1423, but no narrative history dealing with local affairs appears to have been attempted.[115] Indeed, conservative tastes prevailed at Mistra even with regard to the histories favoured as reading material. It would appear that only Ancient Greek or classicizing Byzantine works with a Constantinopolitan outlook were considered worth owning.[116] The sole exception may have been the *Chronicle of Morea* itself, for the changes made in the text of P imply a new audience, perhaps one acquired as a consequence of the marriage of the daughters and heiresses of Erard III le Maure to Andronicus Asen Zaccaria and John Laskaris Kalopheros, both men who appear not only to have had ties with the Kantakouzenoi, the then rulers of the Despotate, but also to have professed to be themselves descended from the major aristocratic houses of Constantinople. Andronicus, although the son of an Asenina, was born and spent his entire life in the Peloponnese, while John, an erstwhile diplomat for the imperial court, sojourned in the peninsula for considerable periods of time.[117] Both men acquired baronial titles there, and had designs upon the property of the le Maure. In the years leading up to their deaths, *c.*1401 and *c.*1392 respectively, each sought the acquisition of titles to houses and lands that either had formerly been directly owned by Erard III le Maure or were geographically adjacent to his holdings.[118] What is more, the eldest male offspring of the two unions, christened 'Erard' after their grandfather, seem to have been involved in the pursuit of the same

Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia,* ed. Schopen, 3 vols. (1832–8) Book I.2, Book III, Book IV, Book VII, Book V.2; Σύνοψις χρονική, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη **7**, ed. Sathas (1894) 485, 499–500, 538, 541, 542–7. For an introduction to the four works, see Hunger (2001) 282–8, 288–97, 297–312; also Fryde (2000) 282–8, 288–97, 297–312, 328–9.

[115] Mount Athos, Dionysiou 282 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale gr. 1775 and gr. 938; *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken,* ed. Schreiner (1975), vol. 1, 225–325; see also 'La Chronique brève moréote de 1423: Texte, traduction et commentaire', ed. Loenertz (1964) 399–439.

[116] Thus, in 1362, Manuel Tzykandyles wrote out Plutarch's *Lives* (Ambrosiana 1000, D. 538 inf.), while a copy of Herodotus was produced in 1372 at Astros (Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1634). The history of Nicetas Choniates was included in manuscript Roe 22 of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, a codex dated to 1286, whose scribe, Jonah, has been plausibly identified with an individual 'from the city [or hinterland] of Mistra, near Monemvasia' ('ἐκ χώρας Μυζηθρᾶ, πλησίον Μονεμβασίας'). Finally, exemplars of Acropolites and Zonaras were in the possession of John Dokeianos at Mistra. See Zakynthenos and Maltezou (1953, rev. 1975) vol. 2, 315–19.

[117] Hopf (1873) 502 and Jacoby (1968a). It should be noted that John Laskaris Kalopheros is known to have been present in the Peloponnese in 1372, 1376, and 1381, and may have undertaken further periods of residence in the subsequent decade.

[118] Andronicus Asen Zaccaria succeeded his father-in-law to the title of lord of the castle of Arcadia in 1386 or 1388, while John Laskaris Kalopheros, although initially estranged from his father-in-law, appears to have received from him money and a house in Modon, and also to have acquired in 1387 from other sources the title to the castle of Port-des-Joncs, together with the fiefs of Maniatochori, Platanos, Pylos, and Ligoudista, situated in western Messenia. See Jacoby (1968a) 217–19.

claims.[119] In the event, it was a younger grandson of Erard III, Centurione, the second son of Andronicus, who, outliving his kin, would become established as lord of Arcadia and, indeed, receive an even more glorious title, that of Prince of Morea. As the last ruler of the Principality, Centurione would, towards the end of his life, give his lands to his daughter, Catherine, as her dowry upon the occasion of her marriage to Thomas Palaeologus, the brother of the Despot of Mistra. The household of one of these individuals could have provided the environment in which the redactor responsible for the creation of the content particular to P undertook his alterations. The insertion at a date after 1388 of a lament upon the passing away of Erard III le Maure into the narrative of the *Chronicle of Morea* is, after all, likely to have been carried out for members of the baron's own family relatively soon after the death itself. It should be stressed, however, that the lives of neither the sons-in-law nor the grandsons of le Maure can be seen as typical of that of the Despotate's *literati* more generally.

Greek Historiography in the Western-Occupied Territories

The surrender by the mainstream Byzantine historiographical tradition of its dominant position really occurred only with the fall of Constantinople itself to the Ottomans in 1453.[120] With the loss of the centre and the disappearance of an imperial court, the bulk of historiography in Greek finally came to serve other interests. Even so, in those areas of the Greek-speaking world already under western occupation, the beginnings of the attenuation of Constantinopolitan influence upon the genre of historiography can be detected somewhat earlier. One of the consequences of this attenuation can be seen in the changes that occurred on a formal level. A radical departure was thus marked by the Greek *Chronicle of Morea* or $X\rho o\nu\iota\kappa\grave{o}\nu\ \tau o\tilde{\upsilon}\ Mo\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, for it constituted the first datable historical verse-narrative written in a metre of fifteen-syllable iambics or $\pi o\lambda\iota\tau\iota\kappa\grave{o}\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi o\varsigma$ in the vernacular. These changes in form were also a feature of two further works associated with the Peloponnese whose subject-matter came under the remit of history. One of these is the $\Pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu o\varsigma\ \tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma\ T\rho\omega\acute{a}\delta o\varsigma$, a translation of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*. The other, the $\varDelta\iota\acute{\eta}\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\rho\grave{\iota}\ \tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma\ \Pi\epsilon\lambda o\pi o\nu\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma o\upsilon$, consists of a foundation narrative of the Peloponnese that is currently preserved in prose (Koutloumousiou 220), but is thought to have originally been produced in verse in Arcadia, one of the most durable of the Frankish baronies and the stronghold of the le

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[119] Hopf (1873) 502 and Jacoby (1968a) 224.
[120] Nicol (2002) 136–8.

Maure.[121] The *Διήγησις* goes out of its way to sing the praises of Arcadia, heavily distorting ancient myths and legends; thus, we are told that 'Pelops [. . .] was a Greek from Antiquity and King of all the island of the Peloponnese, and for that reason it is called the *Isle of Pelops* [. . .] and he had a son whose name was [Zeus or] Dias [=*Δίας*]. And Dias took to wife the daughter of Menelaus, the lord of Athens and hero of Hellas. And the name of his wife was *Arca* [=*Ἄρκα*]. And Homer [. . .] combined the two names and made the name [. . .] *Arcadia* [= *Ἀρκαδία*]'.[122] Outside the Principality, a preference for the decapentasyllabic line also characterized the *Chronicle of Tocco*, which dates from the second decade of the fifteenth century and tells of the expansion into Epirus by Carlo Tocco, the Italian Duke of Cephalonia.[123] Indeed, a further seventeen vernacular histories have survived in verse from the early modern period, the subject-matter or place of composition of almost all of which provides a link with a western milieu, frequently that of the Venetian colonies of the eastern Mediterranean.[124]

While it would be wrong to suggest that this new historiography emerged out of a vacuum, its origins were not those of literature produced within Byzantium—or, at least, not of written literature. Employing the *πολιτικὸς στίχος* (though not in the vernacular), a Byzantine world-chronicle, the *Σύνοψις*

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[121] 'Τρεῖς παραδοξογραφικαὶ διηγήσεις περὶ Πελοποννήσου, Πουλχερίας καὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ', ed. Lambros (1907) 139–40.

[122] "Ὁ Πέλοψ [. . .] ἦτον Ἕλληνας καὶ βασιλεὺς ὅλου τοῦ νησίου τῆς Πελοποννήσου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖται Πελοπόννησος [. . .] Καὶ ἔποικεν υἱὸν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Δίαν. Καὶ ὁ Δίας ἐπῆρε γυναῖκα τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Μενελάου, αὐθεντὸς τῆς Ἀθήνου, ἥρωος τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἄρκα [. . .] Καὶ ὁ Ὅμηρος [. . .] ἐμέρισεν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν δύο, καὶ ἔβαλεν τὸ ὄνομα [. . .] Ἀρκαδία.'

[123] For issues of dating, see Schirò (1975) 145–9.

[124] These are: Ἡ μάχη τῆς Βάρνας or *The Battle of Varna*; the Θανατικὸν τῆς Ρόδου or *Plague of Rhodes* by Manuel Limenites; Ἡ συφορὰ τῆς Κρήτης or *The Catastrophe of Crete* by Manuel Sklavos; the Μερκουρίου Μπούα ἀνδραγαθήματα *or Exploits of Mercurio Bua* by Tzane Koronaios; the Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιάπερα or *History of Tagiapera* by Jacob Trivolis; the Διήγησις συνοπτικὴ Καρόλου τοῦ Ε′ or *Brief Narrative on Charles V* by John Axagioles; Anthony Achelis' Μάλτας πολιορκία or *Siege of Malta,* the Θρῆνος τῆς Κύπρου or *Lament for the Land of Cyprus*; the Κόποι καὶ διατριβὴ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀρσενίου or *Labours and Deeds*; the Ἱστορία περιέχουσα πάσας τὰς πράξεις καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ πολέμους τοῦ ἐκλαμπροτάτου Μιχαὴλ Βοηβόδα or *Exploits of the Most Pious and Valiant Voivode Michael* by George Palamides; the Διήγησις ὡραιοτάτη τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Βοϊβόνδα or *History of the Pre-eminent Michael the Brave*; the Ἑτέρα ἱστορία τῶν κατὰ τὴν Οὐγγροβλαχίας τελεσθέντων; Athanasios Pikros' Κρητικὸς πόλεμος or *Cretan War*; the Πάλη by the Archimandrite Joachim; the *Cretan War* by Stavrinos; Διήγησις διὰ στίχων by Anthimos Dikroussis; Ὁ κρητικὸς πόλεμος or the *Cretan War* by Marino Tzane Bouniales; the Λεηλασία τῆς Παροικίας τῆς Πάρου or *Looting of the Parian Community* (see Vlassopoulou (2000) 12). In some cases, direct lines of textual influence can be traced between exponents of this new historiography. Thus, there are indications that the Greek *Chronicle of Morea* was known to the anonymous Epirot chronicler of the Tocco, while the Cretan Bouniales can be shown to have borrowed from his compatriots Diakroussis and Achelis (Schirò (1975) 169; Vlassopoulou (2000) 110–27).

χρονικὴ by Constantine Manasses, does admittedly offer an isolated textual precedent;[125] compiled *c.*1142, the work appears to have enjoyed extensive transmission, including in the Peloponnese.[126] Yet it is impossible to argue that the development of late medieval historical verse-narratives can be traced back to this single model. Both the metrical characteristics of the Σύνοψις and the use of the vernacular were described by Middle Byzantine authors as already in common use among the illiterate and half-literate populace.[127] The implication is that this was a poetic form already established within a primarily oral tradition.[128] Moreover, although a few surviving tenth-century fragments can be linked to the Hippodrome and the imperial acclamations by the *demes*, there are hints that this tradition was not confined to an exclusively Constantinopolitan aesthetic environment.[129] Akritic material points to the existence, prior to the loss of Anatolia to the Turks in the eleventh century, of such verse on the eastern frontier.[130] By 1180, songs were in circulation as far afield as Cyprus, where Neophytos the Enclosed recorded two examples in his Πεντηκοντακέφαλος βίβλος.[131] Thus, on the eve of the Fourth Crusade, the poetic form later used in historiography can be said to have been prevalent throughout much of the Greek-speaking Mediterranean.[132]

It may be surmised that little about the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea* conforms to the patterns established in imperial historiography. Rather, developments which occurred at some remove from Constantinopolitan influence, particularly in the western-occupied territories, are of more relevance. The formal characteristics of the Greek *Chronicle* mark it out as an important example of a new historiographical trend that developed after the conquest. In the recognition both of the fifteen-syllable line and of the Greek vernacular as suitable tools for the writing of history, a recognition that led to

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[125] Constantine Manasses, *Breviarium Chronicum*, 2 vols., ed. Lampsides (1996). Another lengthy history in verse from within the Empire, that of Ephraim, dates to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, but crucially is written in twelve-syllable and not fifteen-syllable lines. See Hunger (2001) 329–30.

[126] The estimate of six hundred copies given by Lampsides (1996) xlv is excessive. As evidence of Manasses's transmission in the Peloponnese, the fact may be noted that a number of lines in the Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος follow almost verbatim the twelfth-century Byzantine verse-chronicle; for details, see E. M. Jeffreys (1975, repr. 1981) 113 n.7 and Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος, ed. Papathomopoulos and E. M. Jeffreys (1996) lxiv.

[127] M. Jeffreys (1979) 144.

[128] M. Jeffreys (1979) 161 and (1996).

[129] M. Jeffreys (1979) 195.

[130] This material is extant as an epic, the earliest exemplars of which date to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Grottaferrata Z α 44) and to *c.*1485 (Escorial Ψ IV 22) respectively, but also as a body of folk songs collected in the nineteenth century by ethnographers.

[131] M. Jeffreys (1979) 160.

[132] M. Jeffreys (1979) 195.
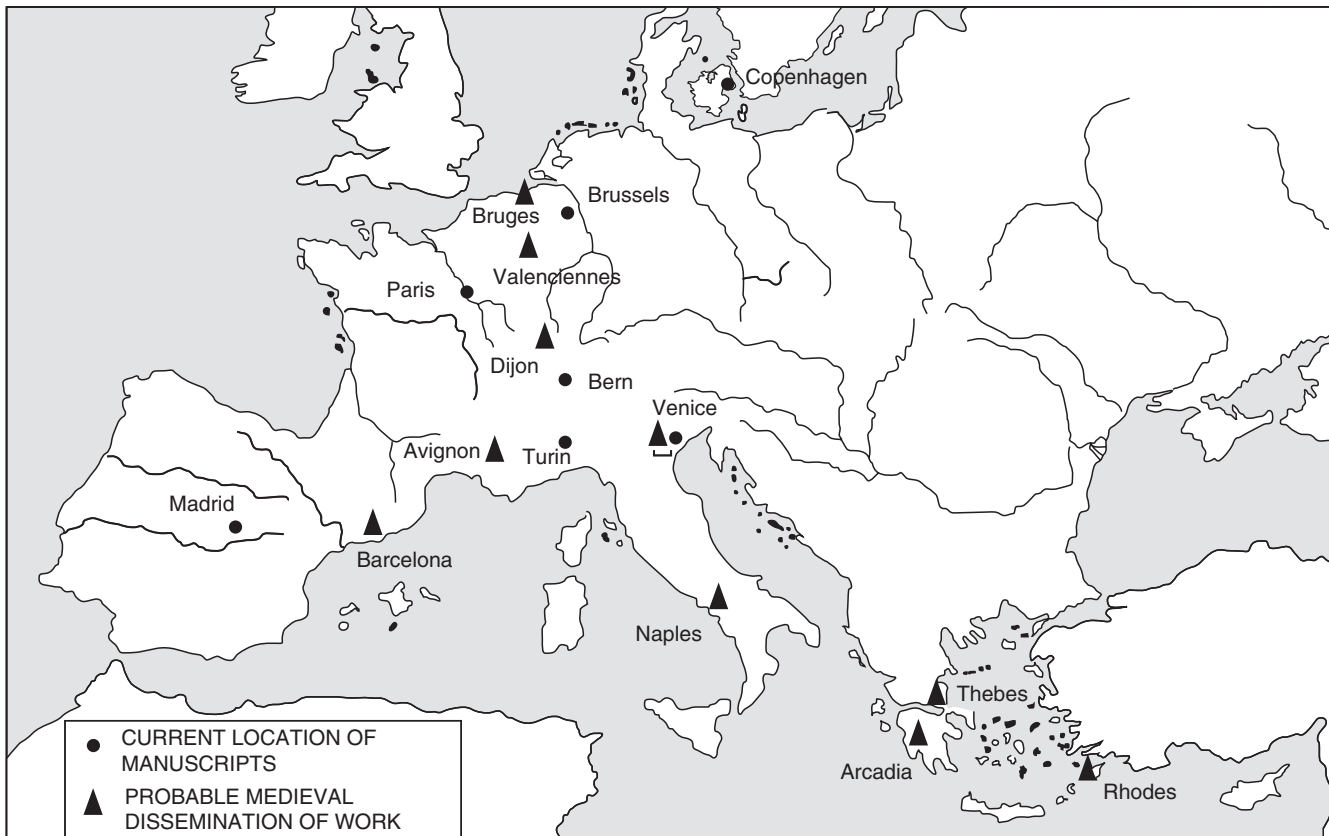
Map 3: The Transmission of the *Chronicle of Morea*
   Drawn by the author © Teresa Shawcross

Labels on map:
Copenhagen
Brussels
Bruges
Valenciennes
Paris
Dijon
Bern
Venice
Avignon   Turin
Madrid
Barcelona
Naples
Thebes
Arcadia
Rhodes

Legend:
● CURRENT LOCATION OF MANUSCRIPTS
▲ PROBABLE MEDIEVAL DISSEMINATION OF WORK

the explosion of the historical verse-narrative, the Principality of Morea appears to have played a crucial role. More specifically, there are indications that the family of le Maure encouraged a flowering of vernacular Greek historiography, through patronage not only of the early version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, but also of the original poem behind the *Διήγησις περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου*.[133] The Frankish conquest appears to have brought to the late medieval eastern Mediterranean aesthetic preoccupations of a type which characterised vernacular writings in the Romance languages. This does not mean that a completely foreign style came to be imposed upon literature in Greek. Rather, isolation from the mainstream of Constantinopolitan education and from the cultural censorship prevalent in imperial circles created conditions which finally permitted the attachment of value to a local oral tradition and the fostering of that tradition as a written literary form.

The *Chronicle of Morea* has been shown to have travelled far and wide, the object of diverse receptions, most of which led to new copies, recensions, or translations. An appreciation of the contexts that contributed to this textual evolution allows us to draw certain conclusions with regard to the issue of the connections that existed between the Principality of Morea and the outside world. The available information concerning possible routes of transmission suggests that the *Chronicle* was not an isolated case, but exemplified a general trend. A variety of cultural centres interacted with Frankish Greece, affording opportunities whereby cultural influence could spread throughout the period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Indeed, far from being an isolated and culturally backward enclave, the Principality is confirmed to have been fully integrated into a vast, western-oriented network within which texts habitually circulated. This network reached from the Mediterranean into Europe—to France, the Hainault, and Burgundy—although exchange was at its most intense across the Ionian Sea and along the shores of the Adriatic. Significantly, however, there is only limited evidence of the movement of texts between the western-occupied former provinces of Byzantium and those territories still under Byzantine control. Imperial historiography does not offer an appropriate literary tradition within which to situate the composition of a text of the *Chronicle* in Greek, obliging one to look instead to vernacular oral poetry and story-telling for antecedents.

The Principality of Morea was not only a centre of reception and dissemination of culture, but also, potentially, one of fusion—a place where disparate trends could be brought together to produce a distinctive result. To what extent,

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[133] Cupane (1995).

then, can the literary production of the territories of the eastern Mediterranean under western occupation, and most particularly of the Principality itself, be said to have stylistic and ideological characteristics that set it apart from that of the main cultures with which this geographical region interacted? In order to begin to answer this question, we now embark upon an investigation of the narrative techniques employed in the *Chronicle*, focusing attention on the Greek and French versions. These versions will be compared and contrasted in detail with reference to individual manuscripts; they will also be considered alongside a wide range of other texts which date from the eleventh century to the fifteenth and were produced in a variety of contexts.

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Part II

Narrative Technique: Orality and Literacy

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Introduction to Part Two

The different versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* all owe their existence to contexts far removed from the 'pristine' orality of cultures with no knowledge of writing. As written texts, by definition none of these versions can be viewed as a genuine product of simultaneous processes of oral composition, performance, and transmission. Yet a distinction should be made between the physical means by which a work is composed and the type of discourse employed in that composition. In the Middle Ages, highly developed non-written forms preceded and in part predetermined the style of the written works which constitute literature in the strict sense. Although writing was ultimately to transmute this legacy into a new aesthetic, earlier mind-sets and ways of expression persisted. Vernacular epic, most notably, continued to be characterized by oral residue of a particularly comprehensive kind even after its passage into textual circulation. In turn, other genres, such as historiography, used, sometimes extensively, sometimes in more vestigial form, traditional epic techniques.[1]

The role played in the society of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean by poets and storytellers working within an oral medium can be reconstructed from allusions to their activities in written accounts of the period. A number of such individuals are recorded as participants in the Fourth Crusade. Of them, the person with the highest profile was undoubtedly Conon de Béthune, who was born in the region of Artois, and performed, while still in France, before both Philippe-Auguste, the French King, and Countess Marie de Champagne,[2] before going on to hold important administrative posts in the Latin Empire, culminating, in 1219, with that of regent.[3] Admired by contemporaries who praised him as a 'good, wise and most eloquent knight',[4] his poetic capabilities are apparent from ten songs or so, including

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[1] The thirteenth-century prose writer Villehardouin has been called an 'epic historian'. See Beer (1968) 31–41 *et passim*.

[2] Wallensköld (1921) iv–v.

[3] Du Cange, vol. 1 (1826) 165.

[4] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Dufournet (2004) §144: 'bons chevaliers et sages [. . .] et bien parlanz'.

some on the subject of crusading (*Ahi! Amors, come dure departie* and *Bien me deüsse targier*), that are attributed to him.[5] Others, such as Rimbaut de Vaqueiras, Elias Cairel, and Gaucelm Faidit, and possibly also Hugues de Berzé, were *troubadours* and *trouvères* belonging to the entourage of Boniface de Montferrat who, after their patron had been crowned King of Salonica, received estates and other rewards, and, in many instances, settled in the East.[6] For every one of these master-craftsmen, there must have been additional practitioners of inferior social rank or lesser skill, whom contemporaries considered to be unnoteworthy and whose names have therefore not been preserved. After the conquest, certainly, as generation succeeded generation, it would appear that performers of poems or songs remained active in the occupied lands. At the court of the Duchy of Athens, for instance, such individuals seem to have been something of a fixture in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Thus, at the dubbing of the young Guyot de la Roche, guests attending the ceremony gave fine garments to the 'juglars' who contributed to the festivities, while, among the expenditure listed by a foreign envoy sent to Greece were sums paid to at least two 'menestreux' in the employ of Gautier de Brienne, Guyot's successor, for their provision of entertainment at a wedding, and for other similar services.[7] Minstrels in the Principality of Morea proper are also attested, with three of them being taken in the late fourteenth century by the diplomat John Laskaris Kalopheros on a mission from the Peloponnese to the court of Amadeo di Savoia, Count of Piedmont, where, as part of attempts to persuade the count to come with troops to the aid of the crusader state, they were apparently expected to perform before their host. It may be suggested that the songs they improvised and the recitals they gave told of the glories of the past, contrasting these with the present neediness of their homeland: an antithesis of great relevance to the success of the mission.[8]

Although the above examples concern individuals who included recent arrivals in the eastern Mediterranean, and who, in some cases at least, may have expressed themselves in various Romance tongues, it should not be thought that such activities were confined to the *langue d'oil* and *langue d'oc*, for there is evidence that Greek was also widely used in the region for comparable purposes.[9] There are indications that, after the Fourth Crusade,

[5] *Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. Wallensköld (1921).

[6] *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. Linskill (1964) 216–344; *Il trovatore Elias Cairel*, ed. Lachin (2004) 21–205; *Les Poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit*, ed. Mouzat (1965) 482–9. See also Longnon (1949) 139; Paris (1889) 554.

[7] Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica,* ed. Gusta, vol. 2 (1979) §244; Du Cange, vol. 2 (1826) 355.

[8] Cessi (1919) 7 n. 7, 44 (item 4).

[9] Jeffreys (1986) 508–9.

ballads began to be composed in Greek which praised the deeds of Henri de
Flandres, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople (Γιὰ τὸν Ἑρρίκο τῆς
Φλάνδρας), and extolled the virtues of Frankish castellans who refused to
surrender their castles to foreign aggressors (Κάστρο τῆς Ὀριάς).[10] In any
case, the phenomenon of the poet-performer was not a foreign import that
first took root in the former Byzantine provinces in the wake of 1204, but on
the contrary antedated the formation of the crusader states. Already in the
twelfth century, Tzetzes described people called 'ἀγύρται' or 'μηναγύρται'
going from door to door on certain feast-days with songs and speeches, in
return for which payment was received.[11] Earlier still, in the tenth century,
these same 'ἀγύρται' or 'ἀγείροντες' were mentioned by Arethas of Caesarea,
who commented on 'those dratted wind-bags who compose songs [. . .] and
earn their living by going round houses and performing them'.[12] The fare
offered by such poets ranged from *encomia* to *psogoi*,[13] and also seems to have
included heroic epic. With regard to the latter genre, one witness refers to
'songs about the ordeals undergone by great men', while another, recounting a
diplomatic mission undertaken by him, tells us of passing through an area of
deep ravines on a cloudy night, and of his companions' attempt to keep fear at
bay by singing, as he puts it, about 'the deeds of men of whose glorious
reputation we have heard many things but about whom we know very little
for certain'.[14] The audience, too, to whom these performances would appeal
was varied. In the fourteenth century, the Patriarch Philotheos scolded a
monk for neglecting his Bible and listening instead to 'beggars' and 'pur-
veyors of fables', accusing him of paying too much attention to 'blind players
who strum the lyre and go into raptures, composing songs mainly for that
instrument—those piteous songs of the blind—, and who gather unhappy
females together at crossroads where, turning into the mundane means of
commerce the sorrows of grief-stricken old crones, and of women who are
poor or have nothing better to do, they eke out a living by constantly stirring
up their audience's emotions through the music and singing'.[15] The implication

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[10] Manoussacas (1952b). However, it should be noted that the evidence here depends on the
transcriptions of folk songs made in the nineteenth century by ethnographers.

[11] John Tzetzes, *Historiae* , ed. Leone (1968) Chil. XIII, Hist. 474–5, vv.218–46.

[12] Kougeas (1913) 239: 'οἱ κατάρατοι Παφλαγόνες ᾠδάς τινας συμπλάσαντες [. . .] καὶ πρὸς
ὀβολὸν ᾄδοντες καθ᾽ ἑκάστην οἰκίαν'.

[13] See *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker (1838) 72; *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, in *Patrologia
Greca* 100, ed. Migne (1866) 1116.

[14] Kougeas (1913) 239 and Nicephorus Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. I (1829) 377 (VIII.14):
'ᾠδάς [. . .] πάθη περιεχούσας ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν'; 'δ᾽ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν, ὧν οἷον κλέος ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ
τοι ἴδμεν'.

[15] van Gemert and Bakker (1981) 96: 'ἀγύρτας'; 'μυθολόγους'; 'τυφλῶν λυριζόντων ἢ
παραληρούντων [. . .] μέλη τινὰ ξυντιθέντων πρὸς λύραν συνήθως, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα λέγων τὰ

of this rebuke was that such forms of entertainment were considered fit for secular people rather than for those who had dedicated themselves to God, and, even then, only for the masses and not for the more discerning. Yet, despite the supposed inappropriateness of his reaction, the fact remains that the monk in question, Nicephorus Gregoras, actually a noted scholar and philosopher not easily distracted by superficial matters, was deeply moved by the performance and found solace in it.[16] Moreover, as is made clear elsewhere, another contemporary, the Emperor John Kantakouzenos himself, did not consider it beneath his dignity to take with him on a military campaign 'a creator of songs' or 'ἀσμάτων δημιουργὸς' who was able to cradle his lyre and produce a piece at a moment's notice.[17] Thus, the impression one gets is of entrenched cultural practices that, notwithstanding the objections of some ecclesiastics, were intelligible to and appreciated by the majority of the indigenous population, irrespective of social standing.

Our greatest insight into the degree to which the figure of the singer of tales was an integrated part of daily life in Greek-speaking lands is provided by a horoscope for the year 1336 which was produced in Trebizond.[18] This text, belonging to the category of ephemera, owes its chance survival to the re-use of the paper upon which it was written for an anthology of medical texts. It offers prognostications for various people, beginning with the emperors themselves, and then going on to discuss categories such as those of the leading magnates, of civil servants and notaries, of prelates and clergy, of military commanders and soldiers, of noble old men, eunuchs, and women, and of official messengers and envoys, ending, finally, with the common people. Among the last to be treated are 'merchants and pedlars'.[19] Here, certain comments are directed specifically to the sub-category of itinerant 'παιγνιῶται' or 'players', for whom the text, promising joy and prosperity, prophesies that the New Year will bring superior compositional abilities and greater eloquence, leading not only to the improvisation of new poems, but also to more attentive and willing audiences.[20]

This evidence regarding the existence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of a background of oral composition and performance allows us

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τραγικὰ τῶν τυφλῶν ᾄσματα, οἷς ἐκεῖνοι τὰ δυστυχῆ γύναια συναθροίζουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμφόδων, κοινὴν ἐμπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ποιούμενοι τὰ τῶν ἀλγούντων γραιδίων τε καὶ πενήτων καὶ ἀργῶν γυναικῶν ἄλλως πένθη, διὰ γε τὸ τοῖς μέλεσι καὶ ταῖς ᾠδαῖς ταῖς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν προσερεθίζειν ἐκεῖνα᾽.

[16] van Gemert and Bakker (1981) 96.
[17] Nicephorus Gregoras, ed. Schopen, vol. 2 (1830) 705–6 (XIV.4).
[18] Lambros (1916).
[19] Lambros (1916) 40: 'Τοῖς πραγματευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις'.
[20] Lambros (1916) 40.

to turn now to a consideration of the impact precisely of that background upon the genre of historiography. The following chapters analyse the narrative of the *Chronicle of Morea* by examining the interaction of orality and literacy in the work.[21] The focus will be on the Greek and French versions in the form in which these are transmitted by H and B, the manuscripts which appear to contain texts pre-dating the other recensions, and thus to transmit the earliest surviving testimonies to the *Chronicle*. Attention will be drawn to those features which are shared by the two versions and, consequently, shed light on the textual dynamics of the common ancestor. Even so, of at least equal importance to our understanding of the Peloponnese as a cultural centre is an analysis of H and B in their own right. It is by showing how each of the two oldest versions functions in and of itself, and by identifying similarities and differences with preceding and contemporary trends both from the eastern Mediterranean and from further afield that we can hope to understand the background against which the *Chronicle* underwent its earliest transformations. H and B are therefore considered in the context of a corpus of forty-five other medieval texts in the two most relevant languages. Thus, for French, a choice has been made of five epics, one saint's life, three *romans d'antiquité*, five Arthurian verse romances and three prose romances, one *chantefable*, and, above all, three verse chronicles together with fourteen historiographical works in prose. For Greek, where fewer works are known from the period, the list of those consulted is necessarily shorter: one epic, seven romance-epics and romances, one verse chronicle, and one prose history.

Four major aspects of narrative technique in H and B come under scrutiny.[22] These aspects were selected because they furnish especially precious indications

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[21] The concept of orality has been frequently applied to various forms of medieval literature (for surveys or critical bibliographies, see Foley (1981, 1985, 1988), and Lord (1986b)). It first came to the fore as a consequence of the theory of epic composition advanced by Milman Parry and Albert Lord. Studying performances of heroic poetry by South Slavic *guslari*, Parry and Lord noted the essential function of the formula (repeated phrases and phrase-patterns for different characters and their actions, typically covering a hemistich) and the thematic stereotype (repeated descriptive or narrative items with a recognizable shape extending to several lines or an entire episode). These findings were, from the outset, meant to provide the empirical basis for the elaboration of a theory concerning texts which survive in written form. It was argued that the presence in poetry such as Homeric epic of the structural attributes identified in Yugoslav epic constituted an indication of oral composition (Lord (1960, repr. 2001), with further elaboration (1991) and (1995)). This view was later refined, and the existence was acknowledged of 'transitional' texts, or texts which contained stylistic features derived from orality but were composed in written form (Bäuml (1980, 1984); Ong (1984); Renoir (1986); and, rather grudgingly, Lord (1986a) himself).

[22] Until now, investigation into the influence of oral techniques upon the *Chronicle of Morea* has been carried out solely with respect to the Greek version, where attention has been drawn

regarding stylistic influence. They allow us not only to acquire an overview of textual construction, but also to study the minutiae of the process. Commencing with a brief analysis of the devices employed by these versions of the *Chronicle* to order the narrative, we then move on to the nature and function of speech acts, before turning to examine narrative voice. Finally, the issue of tense-switching is addressed. In this sequence of *aperçus*, emphasis gradually shifts from an examination of the characteristics shared by both H and B to those which differentiate them.

only to one significant aspect—the use of formulae. The importance of repeated half-lines to the composition of H was demonstrated by M. Jeffreys (1973, repr. 1983) II and (1975a), who concluded that the text was 'extremely formulaic', with repetitions totalling over 31.7% of the poem. These insights were extended by M. and E. M. Jeffreys (1971, repr. 1983, 1978, 1979, repr. 1983) (1983, 1986, 1993a, 1993b) to most of the tradition of late medieval Greek vernacular poetry in a series of articles. Their proposals have provoked considerable debate: Spadaro (1975) (1976a) (1976b) (1977) (1977/8) (1978) and (1980/1) (1981); van Gemert and Bakker (1981); Eideneier (1982–3); Beaton (1989 and 1996, revised edition) 164–88, (1990); Holton (1990); and Fenik (1991). The familiarity with and respect for formulae as poetic building-blocks shown by H cannot feature in a prose-text such as B. However, the way has been opened for further research.

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Structure

In studying the structure of the *Chronicle of Morea*, a distinction should be made between 'story' and 'narrative': the former is simply the raw material or content, while the latter is the artistic construction into which that content is moulded with the help of devices such as temporal deformation.[1] A comparison of the temporal order of the succession of events in the story and the pseudo-temporal order of their arrangement in the narrative reveals that the overall shape of the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle* conforms to the pressures of chronological progression. Thus, the two versions begin with the First Crusade and, having covered—in sequence—the Fourth Crusade, the capture of Constantinople and creation of the Latin Empire, the conquest of the Peloponnese by Guillaume I de Champlitte, and the reigns of Geoffroy I de Villehardouin and his sons Geoffroy II and Guillaume II, break off in the time of Princess Isabeau, the fourth Villehardouin ruler. Even so, a number of deviations, or 'anachronies', may be discerned within that broad schema. These anachronies are of particular interest. In a situation where reception is achieved through the written word, if for any reason there is ignorance or confusion regarding the context out of which emerges the material being read at a particular moment, that context can be rediscovered with relative ease by glancing back or forward over the material selectively. By contrast, when oral discourse is involved, this possibility obviously does not present itself, for an utterance is by its very essence ephemeral, confined to the moment when it is pronounced. So as to compensate for the difficulties posed by its medium, a non-written narrative has recourse to distinctive devices. As we shall see, specific types of anachrony in the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* reflect narrative methods characteristic of orality. Because these

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[1] See Genette (1986) 35 and (1988) 13 for this distinction. Given that Genette's typology was derived from an analysis of Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*, many of the narrative techniques identified are more characteristic of modern than of medieval literature. Neither his typology nor the work of narratologists such as Bal (1999) can account adequately for the structure of medieval vernacular narrative because of a failure to take into account organizational principles which are not textualist. A more detailed analysis of the structure of the *Chronicle* than is possible here can be found in Shawcross (2005).

types are shared by both versions, they are revelatory with regard to the structural features of the common ancestor.

ANACHRONY

In order to examine only deliberate techniques employed in the structuring of the narrative and exclude from consideration accidental errors, the following analysis of the *Chronicle of Morea* focuses purely on anachronies that bear explicit markers of their status.[2] Such markers take the form either of expressions of time or of comments referring the audience to earlier or later passages in the narrative.[3] Terms signalling a time-shift include 'l'autre fois' (§56), 'jadis' (§110), but also 'depuis' (§586), 'ancores' (§397), and 'ores' (§375) in the French version,[4] and 'πρότερον' (v.865), 'τότε' (v.866), 'ὀμπρὸς ὀλίγους χρόνους' (v.1274), as well as 'ὕστερα' (v.1733), 'ἀκόμη' (v.2949), and 'σήμερον' (v.5429) in the Greek.[5] Phrases commonly used in B to emphasise the positioning of an episode out of linear narrative sequence tend to be variants of 'aussi comme vous avés oÿ ça arrieres' (§255),[6] or, conversely, 'tout ainxi comme il sera conté chi devant en cestui livre' (§75),[7] while in H one finds, for instance, references backward ('καθὼς ἀκούσετε ἐδῶ ὀπίσω στὸ βιβλίον μου', v.3469, or 'καθὼς σὲ τὸ ἐπροεῖπα, | εἰς τοῦ βιβλίου τὸν πρόλογον, φαίνει με, σὲ τὸ γράφω', vv.1506–7) together with references forward ('τὸ πῶς τὸ μέλλω ἀφηγηθῆ ἐμπρὸς εἰς τὸ βιβλίον μου', v.4683).[8]

From these examples it should be clear that in the *Chronicle* an anachrony, when considered against the moment in the story when the narrative was

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[2] In the case of a non-fictional work such as a historical work, there is a temptation to interpret the distinction between story and narrative in a way that permits identification of the story with the actual order of events as they occurred in the outside world (Genette (1988) 14). This approach has not been adopted here. Were it applied to the *Chronicle of Morea,* all mistakes pertaining to the chronology of historical events (e.g. H vv.1185–98, 4192–7 and B §§75, 177, 312) would have to be included among the category of anachronies. This would be acceptable only where errors can be shown to serve a definite artistic purpose. In fact, wilful distortion stemming from the imperatives of a particular narrative logic is not the only cause of the historical errors in the *Chronicle*. Often, it is simply a deficient knowledge of the period that is responsible.

[3] See Stoddard (1991) 17.

[4] 'on a previous occasion', 'formerly', 'since', 'still', 'now'.

[5] 'earlier', 'then', 'a few years ago', 'afterwards', 'still', 'today'.

[6] 'as you have already heard earlier here [i.e. in this book].'

[7] 'as will be recounted further on in this book.'

[8] 'as you have already heard earlier in my book', 'as I have already told you, | it seems to me, and explained for your benefit in the book's prologue', 'as I will recount further on in my book'.

interrupted, can reach into the past or the future. For the first category, the term 'analepsis' may be used, while, for the second, 'prolepsis'.[9] Thus, an analepsis is 'any evocation after the event of a happening which precedes the point of its occurrence in the narrative', while a prolepsis is 'any narrative manoeuvre which consists in telling or evoking an ulterior event'.[10] The reference, during an account of the conquest of Modon by Champlitte, to the earlier destruction of that fortress by the Venetians (H vv.1692–6; B §110) exemplifies analepsis. The device of prolepsis is used when, in outlining the articles contained in the marriage agreement which Charles d'Anjou had drawn up for the union of Isabeau de Villehardouin with Florent de Hainault, the narrator is made to comment on the eventual outcome, Isabeau's disinheritance (H vv.8587–90). In some cases, a passage containing anachrony in the *Chronicle* consists of both analepsis and prolepsis. For instance, in the course of giving us the particulars of the appointment of Duke Guillaume de la Roche as *bailli* following the death of Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin, the narrative begins by referring back to the Duke's defeat by the Prince, to his journey to the French court, to the battle of Pelagonia, and to the subsequent imprisonment of the Prince, noting that these events, which occurred at an earlier date, have already been recounted (H vv.7964–6 and B §546); it also summarizes the Duke's marriage and the begetting of an heir, which were activities belonging to the period that intervened since the man was last mentioned. After this, however, an allusion to future events follows. More specifically, a few words are devoted to the Duke's death and the marriage of his son and successor, Guyot, to Mahaut de Hainault (H vv.7976-83 and B §546).

AN ORAL ORGANIZATIONAL SYSTEM

Certain sub-categories of both prolepsis and analepsis can be shown to have evolved out of the practical concerns of oral storytellers.[11] In the chaotic conditions of genuine oral composition and simultaneous delivery and reception, these anachronies ensured that those gathered to listen could at all times follow the gist. The problem with which the storyteller had to contend

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[9] The terms are derived from Genette (1986) 40.

[10] Rimmon (1976) 43.

[11] See Ong (2002) 138 and Anaxagorou (1988) 31–42. Our examination of anachronies does not take into account those subjective chronological deviations which are situated in the consciousness of characters (e.g. plans, memories), nor does it consider those deviations which occur during characters' speech acts.

was that of interruption. An extended narrative would be divided up into instalments destined to be delivered on separate occasions, often on successive nights or at other intervals of an analogous nature. Even within a single performance, an audience would usually be fluid and easily distracted—its members could be expected to come and go, greet newcomers, say farewells to those leaving early, gossip among themselves or exhibit other signs of restlessness.[12] Characteristic of orality was not only an organisation of the narrative in the form of multiple internally complete episodes which, if needed, could be performed separately, but an exaggerated insistence upon cohesiveness within the episodes themselves.

Thus, in the *Chronicle of Morea*, episodes are usually loosely strung together by means of bald statements indicating changes of subject-matter. The narrative, for instance, shifts rather abruptly from an account of the journey to Paris undertaken by Guillaume de la Roche, the ruler of Athens, and also of his trial there before the French king, to tell us about the embroilment of Guillaume II de Villehardouin in the war between Epirus and Nicaea which culminated in his defeat at the battle of Pelagonia ('Ἐν τούτῳ θέλω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν νὰ πάψω καὶ νὰ λέγω | περὶ τοῦ ρῆγα τῆς Φραγκίας, τῆς Ἀθηνοῦ τοῦ Δοῦκα, | καὶ θέλω νὰ σὲ ἀφηγηθῶ καὶ νὰ σὲ καταλέξω | τὸ πῶς ὁ πρίγκιπας Μορέως, ἐκεῖνος ὁ Γυλιάμος . . .', vv.3464–7; 'Si vous lairons a parler dou roy de France et dou duc d'Atthenes, et retournerons a parler et a conter dou bon prince Guillerme . . .', §254).[13] Emphasis is on the static positioning of a succession of largely self-contained tales, rather than on the ultimate narrative coherence of the work as a whole. Within the actual episodes, however, comments and statements are constantly encountered whose purpose is either to repeat what has already happened, or to announce what is about to come next.

[12] See Lord (1960, repr. 2001) 14.

[13] 'However, I now wish to stop telling | of the King of France and the Duke of Athens | and wish to tell you instead and recount in detail | how the Prince of Morea, that Guillaume . . .'; 'Now we will leave off talking about the King of France and the Duke of Athens, and return to speak and tell of good Prince Guillaume . . .'. The same type of transition can be observed slightly later on, where we move from a meeting between the Despot of Arta and the Prince of Morea to the military preparations set in motion by the Byzantines of Nicaea ('Ἐν τούτῳ ἀφήνω, τὰ λαλῶ κι ἄλλα νὰ καταπιάσω, | νὰ σᾶς εἰπῶ κι ἀφηγηθῶ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως' | 'So I quit the subject I was talking about, and turn to other matters | in order to narrate and tell you about the Emperor', H vv.3521–2; 'Si lairons a parler dou prince Guillerme et dou despot, et parlerons de Quir Thodre sevastocratora' | 'We shall stop talking about Prince Guillaume and the Despot, and instead talk about Kyr Theodore, the Sevastokrator', B §263). For the meaning in the fourteenth century of 'θέλω + infinitive' as a future ('I shall . . .'), but of 'θέλω + νὰ + subjunctive' as a volitional expression ('I intend to . . .' or 'I wish to . . .'), see Markopoulos (2005) 163, 168–9, 174.

Fragmentation

The aim of certain structuring devices in the *Chronicle of Morea* is to enable each episode of the narrative to exist as a largely independent unit. To this end, anticipatory statements are employed to mark the beginning of episodes. These statements either give the main thrust of the tale about to be developed, or provide a more straightforwardly referential summary of events. This type of passage is found in H before the narrative of the battle of Prinitsa: Ἔν τούτῳ γὰρ ἀφίνω ἐδῶ τὰ λέγω κι ἀφηγοῦμαι | διὰ τὸν Μέγαν Δεμέστεκον καὶ τὰ φουσσᾶτα ὅπου εἶχεν, | καὶ θέλω νὰ σὲ ἀφηγηθῶ καὶ νὰ σὲ καταλέξω | τὸν πόλεμον ποῦ ἐγίνετον ἐτότε εἰς τὴν Πρινίτσαν. | Τριακόσιοι Φράγκοι ἐκέρδισαν ἐκεῖνα τὰ φουσσᾶτα, | τὸ πῶς τὸ μέλλω ἀφηγηθῆ ἐμπρὸς εἰς τὸ βιβλίον μου' (vv.4678–83).[14] A second example, present in both language versions, precedes the account of the reign of Isabeau de Villehardouin. Here (H vv.8474–82 and B §586), Isabeau's degree of kinship to Prince Guillaume II and her title of 'Lady of Morea' are followed by further comments regarding not only her impending change of status to 'Princess of Achaia' but also the fact that she was about to come fully into her inheritance ('τὸ πῶς τὴν ἤφερεν ὁ Θεὸς κ'ἐστράφη στὸ ἰγονικὸ της | κ'ἐγίνετον πριγκίπισσα ὅλης τῆς Ἀχαΐας'; 'comment elle fu depuis princesse d'Achaye et comment la dicte princesse Ysabeau recovra la princée d'Achaÿe son heritaige').[15] The passage duplicates the contents of the narrative section to come, listing the most salient points in advance. Derived from oral techniques, such use of prolepsis initially served to give the audience its bearings by acting as a miniature prologue.

At any one point within the *Chronicle*, the amount of information provided is determined by whatever is of immediate relevance. To reduce misunderstanding, long-distance analepses and prolepses are frequently used which refer to events separated by a considerable narrative span from the position they would occupy in linear juxtaposition. Thus, references are made well in advance to an event that will be told again in its proper place. One example of this concerns the loss of Constantinople by the Latin Emperor Baudouin II (Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μισίρε Ρομπέρτος | εἶχεν υἱόν, τὸν ἔλεγαν κ'ἐκεῖνον Βαλδουβῖνον, | ὅστις ἐγίνη βασιλέας κ'ἔχασε τὴν βασιλείαν', H vv.1185–7; 'Cellui monseignor Robert avoit .j. filz qui Baudouin avoit nom, liquelx

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[14] 'Hereupon I leave off what I was saying and narrating | about the Grand Domestic and the armies he had | and wish to recount and tell you in detail | about the war which happened then in Prinitsa. | Three hundred Franks were victorious over those armies, | as I will recount below in my book.'

[15] 'how God brought it about that she returned to her inheritance, | and became Princess of all Achaia'; 'how she then became Princess of Achaia, and how the aforesaid Princess Isabeau recovered the Principality of Achaia her inheritance'.

perdi depuis l'empire', B §75), which is first mentioned in a manner that anticipates a more detailed narrative later on of the reconquest of the city by Michael VIII Palaeologus and the departure of Latin refugees (H vv.1272–337 and B §§82–7).[16] Similarly, the marriage of Geoffroy II de Villehardouin with Agnès de Courtenay is initially referred to cursorily (H vv.1188–98 and B §75), but then subsequently treated in considerable detail (H vv.2472–625 and B §§177–86). Conversely, facts already given earlier in the *Chronicle* can be repeated. Accompanying comments on the joint military campaign undertaken by the Despot of Arta and the Prince of Morea, for instance, is a reminder of the terms of the alliance that had been established between these two parties several years earlier (H vv.3469–76 and B §255). By these means, limits are imposed on the interpretative associations available to the readership, so that ideas are more likely to be realized in ways semantically pertinent to the current context. An extension of the habit of introducing such *aides-mémoires* is the decision that new background information should be inserted out of chronological sequence at the point at which it can acquire most significance. Thus, after narrating the taking of Zara and before describing the arrival there of papal legates who arranged the diversion of the crusader fleet to Constantinople by arguing the case of Isaac Angelus and his son, the future Alexius IV, the *Chronicle* incorporates a passage that gets us up to speed vis-à-vis events surrounding the deposition of Isaac and the usurpation of the Byzantine throne by Alexius III (H vv.441–500 and B §§25–32). Likewise, following an account of the achievements of Geoffroy I de Villehardouin as *bailli*, and prior to an exposition of the disembarkation at Clarence or Glarentza of the man whom Geoffroy's absent lord, Champlitte, designated as the next legitimate ruler and sent to claim the throne, the *Chronicle* slots in certain details regarding the earlier activities of Champlitte in Paris and Champagne, focusing in particular upon his investiture of Robert, his cousin, with the lands conquered in the Peloponnese (H vv.2128–32 and B §137). Whether in the form of prefigurations, repetitions, or belated reparations, these insertions serve to complete an episode. Thus, the *Chronicle of Morea* tends to depend upon procedures characteristic of an oral storyteller who is not only mistrustful of his audience's capacity of recall, but wishes to avoid burdening that audience with undue elaborations. Above all, the concern is to render each episode more readily assimilable.

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[16] 'That Emperor, the lord Robert, | had a son who was also called Baudouin, | and who became Emperor and lost the Empire'; 'That lord Robert had a son who was called Baudouin, who later lost the Empire'.

Over-Cohesiveness

In a situation involving oral expression before an audience, physical conditions make it advantageous to say the same thing, or equivalently the same thing, a number of times within a single episode. As Walter Ong explains, '[r]edundancy, explicit repetition of the just-said, keeps [. . .] [the] hearer surely on the track'.[17] Indicative of a literary technique which retains a massive oral residue is the presence in the *Chronicle* of analepses connecting a sequence of actions through accretion and chronological progression. These analepses are usually very short résumés of an already quite limited chunk of narrative, typically a few lines in the Greek version or a paragraph in the French. The pattern adhered to is one where a preceding action is repeated, before a new one is introduced, in the following cumulative manner: X performed action A. When X had done A, X did B. When X had done B, X then did C, etc. Illustration of this can be found in §§538-42 of B:

Lors ordina le Rous de Sulli, .j. baron de grant bonté, et lui donna .l. hommes de cheval et .ij^c. de pié, tous arbalestiers, et lui commanda que il menast celle gent avec soy et que il feist mettre les arbalestiers par les chastiaux de la princée. Et puis que li Rous fu ordinez de tout ce qu'il lui besongnoit pour son office, si se parti de Naples avec sa compaignie; et erra tant, que par terre que par mer, que il vint arriver au port de Clarence.

Et quant il fu arrivés, si envoia les lettres qu'il portoit de part le roy a tous les barons et prelas du pays; et il meisme leur escript de part soy a cescun, requerant que il venissent a Clarence pour veoir et oïr les commandemens du roy Charle. Et quant li noble homme de cest pays virent les lettres, si vindrent de present a Clarence. Et quant tout furent venu, si lisirent devant lez commissions du Rous que il portoit de part le roy: comment li rois leur mandoit et commandoit que ilz deussent avoir et tenir le Rous pour son bail et son lieutenant et de faire lui leurs hommages et obeïr a lui comme a son propre corps.

Et quant le commandement dou roy et la commission furent leu, li archevesque de Patras, qui Benoit avoit a nom, si porta la parole pour tous ceaux dou pays et respondi au Roux en tel manière, comment il enclinoient le commandement du roy, et estoient appareillié de obeïr au Roux et de faire pour lui autant comme pour le propre corps dou roy leur seignor en toutes choses a leur pooir, sauve que de faire ligié au bail du roy. Yce ne pooient il mie faire a nul fuer; car, se il le faisoient, il meisme romperoient leur franchise et la coustume dou pays, pour ce que li homme lige de la princée d'Achaye ne sont tenu ne ne doivent faire hommage ne ligié que au propre corps dou seignor, et dedens le pays de la princée, et non autre part.

Et quant le archevesque ot fait ceste response au bail de part les nobles hommes dou pays, si ne le plot mie par semblant au bail ceste response. De quoy fu la chose moult

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[17] Ong (2002) 40.

debatue, car li homme dou pays dirent tout ainsi car, se il le vouloient faire de grace au roy, si ne le porroient il mie faire sans la propre voulenté de tous les barons dou pays, especialment de ceaux dela le Pas, comme le duc d'Atthenes, le duc de Nissye et le marquis de Bondonnice et lez .iij. terciers de Negripont.

 Et quant le Roux vit que li homme dou pays qui la se troverent ne feroient cel hommage sans les devant nommés barons, si s'acorda ...

Then he appointed Rousseau de Sully, a most worthy baron, and gave him fifty mounted men and two hundred foot-soldiers, all crossbowmen, and commanded him to take these troops with him and to garrison with the crossbowmen the castles of the Principality. And once Rousseau had been supplied with everything that was needful for him to carry out his office, he left Naples with his company; and he travelled so far, both by land and by sea, that he came to the port of Clarence.

 And when he had arrived there, he sent all the barons and prelates of the land the letters which he carried from the King; and he also wrote to each of them on his own account, asking them to come to Clarence in order to see and hear the orders of King Charles. And when the noblemen of the land received the letters, they immediately assembled in Clarence. And when they had all assembled there, the commission of Rousseau, which he carried from the King, was read to them: how the King notified and ordered them to receive and accept Rousseau as his *bailli* and lieutenant, and perform homage to him and obey him as if he were the person of the King.

 And when the instructions of the King had been read, together with the commission, the Archbishop of Patras, who was called Benoît, spoke on behalf of all the noblemen of the land, and replied to Rousseau thus: that they respected the orders of the King, and were ready to obey Rousseau and to conduct themselves towards him as if he were the person of the King their lord, in so far as this was in their power, but they would not perform liege homage to the *bailli* of the King. This they could never do under any circumstances, for were they to, they would be contravening the freedoms and customs of the land, because the liegemen of the Principality of Achaia are expected and obliged to bind themselves as liegemen or otherwise perform homage only in the actual presence of their lord, and that in the Principality itself, and nowhere else.

 And when the Archbishop had answered the *bailli* in this fashion on behalf of the noblemen of the land, his reply seemed to find no favour at all with the *bailli*. For this reason, the matter was debated at length, for the men of the land all said that, even if, as a special concession to the King, they were willing to carry out what was asked, it could not be done without the acquiescence of all the barons of the land, and most notably of those from beyond the Pass of Megara, such as the Duke of Athens, the Duke of Naxos, the Marquis of Bodonitsa, and the three Trierarchs of the Negropont.

 And when Rousseau saw that the men of the land who were there would not perform this homage without the aforesaid barons, he agreed ...

Here, there are seven summarizing analepses, one in the first paragraph ('Et puis que li Rous fu ordinez ...'), three in the second ('Et quant il fu arrivés ...', 'Et quant li noble homme de cest pays virent les lettres ...', 'Et

quant tout furent venu . . .'), and one at the beginning of each of the subsequent three paragraphs ('Et quant le commandement dou roy et la commission furent leu . . .', 'Et quant le archevesque ot fait ceste response . . .', 'Et quant le Roux vit . . .'). In each case, the reference is to an event presented in the previous sentence as already having been completed (e.g. ' . . . il vint arriver au port de Clarence. Et quant il fu arrivés . . . ', §§538-9). Such analepses are a key device in the *Chronicle*, and innumerable examples may be found in both versions. Temporal conjunctions, such as 'ἀφότου', 'ἀφότου γὰρ', 'κι ἀφότου', 'καὶ ἀφότου', 'ἀφοῦ', 'κι ἀφῶν', 'καὶ οὕτως ὡσὰν', 'ὡς', and 'κι ὅσον' in the Greek version,[18] and 'apres', 'et puis', 'et ainxi comme', 'et quant', and 'quant' in the French,[19] are used in a manner resembling the technique which, in sewing, is called backstitching, where, in order to make sure the seam does not unravel, each stitch taken with the needle first loops back almost to its point of departure and only then moves forward again.

A related procedure is the constant recourse by both the Greek and French versions to brief analeptic comments concerning the identity of persons or things. In B, such comments can either take the form of the phrase 'the aforesaid X or Y', as in §17, where the Count of Flanders and other crusading princes and barons are referred to as 'lez devant dis contes', or they can consist in an over-explicit use of demonstrative or epideictic adjectives ('ce') and pronouns ('cellui').[20] In H, a number of formulaic phrases using 'ἐκεῖνος' may be taken to have the same shades of meaning: 'ἐκεῖνος ὁ Γυλιάμος' (23 occurrences), 'ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ρομπέρτος' (18), 'μισὶρ Ντζεφρές ἐκεῖνος' (17), 'ἐκείνη τὴν ἡμέραν' (12), 'ἐκεῖνος ὁ δεσπότης' (12), 'τὲς συμφωνίες ἐκεῖνες' (11), 'ἐκεῖνος ὁ μαρκέσης' (11), 'ἐκεῖνα τὰ φουσσᾶτα' (10), 'ἐκεῖνος τοῦ Μορέως' (10), 'ὁ πόλεμος ἐκεῖνος' (9), 'ἐκεῖνος ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρές' (8).[21]

Both cases of analepsis would perform vital functions for an oral storyteller. By drawing attention to crucial steps within a brief narrative section, comprehension would be facilitated. Similarly, the recurrence of the demonstratives or epideictics would serve to reassure the audience that the immediate subject-matter remained the same. Above all, these patterns of repetition

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[18] 'after', 'and so, after', 'and after', 'and after', 'when', 'and when', 'and thus, having . . .', 'having', 'and having'.

[19] 'after', 'and then', 'and so, having', 'and when', 'when'.

[20] 'this', 'this one'. See also B §§9, 90, 164, 321 and Rodrigues, vol. 2 (1996).

[21] 'that Guillaume', 'that Robert', 'that Sir Geoffroy', 'that day', 'that Despot', 'those agreements', 'that Marquis', 'those armies', 'that person from the Morea', 'that war', 'that Sir Geoffroy'. While a powerful aid in composition, such formulae do not help the audience of the Greek *Chronicle* to distinguish between individual characters because they are not associated exclusively with specific individuals. The phrase 'μισὶρ Ντζεφρές ἐκεῖνος', for example, refers in turn to the Marshal of Romania (H v.232), to two of the Princes of the Morea (H vv.2098, 2626), and to the younger Geoffroy de Bruyères (H v.8142). See M. Jeffreys (1973, repr. 1983).

could be relied upon to engender aural pleasure. Familiarity 'breeds satisfaction rather than contempt' in a group gathered to receive a tale presented by means of the spoken word.[22]

Working in the written form, the redactors of the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle* would not have been subject to quite the same pressures as a *jongleur* or singer of tales. They appear, even so, to have continued to view transitional statements, prolepses, analepses, and other episodic techniques as the most readily available and natural way of imagining and handling a lengthy narrative, as well as the most effective way of reaching their readership. Within actual episodes, moreover, a heightened repetition can be noted of certain phrases and grammatical items. These stylistic traits serve as an indication of indebtedness to traditions of non-written storytelling.

By and large, the organization of the Greek and French versions has proved to be similar, with anachronies tending to be found in both at equivalent places. This suggests that many of the anachronies characteristic of orality that have been discussed here would have been part of the common ancestor of the extant versions of the *Chronicle*. Such anachronies, however, are only one of a number of features which can be identified by discourse analysis as displaying certain peculiarities in the context of oral narrative. An examination of further features, commencing with an analysis of the presentation of speech acts, will reveal that there, too, a stylistic core can be identified which is shared by the two versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*. Beyond that, however, specific patterns are unique to one or other of the texts.

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[22] See Beer (1970) 275.

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Speech Acts

In the *Chronicle of Morea*, speech acts form the backbone of the narrative: almost every scene is organized round the depiction and dramatization of a debate or other verbal exchange, to which only the briefest representation of action is appended.[1] Typical of the work as a whole is a passage on the subject of the negotiation of a marriage alliance between the Principality of Morea and the Angevin Kingdom of Southern Italy, where an account is given of a sequence of embassies, formal audiences, private interviews, and deliberative councils (H vv.6335–427 and B §§446–51). The passage begins with the arrival of the embassy of Prince Guillaume II de Villehardouin in Naples. The envoys initially come into the presence of the royal court, and give King Charles I d'Anjou their credentials to inspect, after which they are taken aside and given an opportunity to tell the King the details of their master's proposition in private. Having questioned the envoys to his satisfaction and listened attentively to their replies, Charles announces that he wishes to take advice before he can give a definite answer. He then dismisses the men

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[1] It is noteworthy that, of the repertoire of formulaic phrases used by H, a large proportion is connected with the representation of speech acts. For example: ʿμαντατοφόρους ἔστειλε (ἔστειλεν, ἔστειλαν)ʾ ('he (they) sent messengers'), vv.2778, 2890, 3024, 3121, 4540, 4597, 8352, 9026; ʿκαὶ λέγει (λέγουν) πρὸς ἐκεῖνον (ἐκείνην, ἐκείνους)ʾ ('and he says (they say) to him (her, them)'), ʿκαὶ λέγει(ν) πρὸς τὸν πρίγκιπα(ν)ʾ ('and he says to the Prince'), vv.4221, 4303, 5262, 5514, 5883, 6767, 7425, 7484, 8913; ʿ(κ᾿) ἐπληροφόρεσέ | ἐπληροφόρεσάν τον (τους)ʾ ('(and) he | they informed him (them)'), vv.637, 748, 1634, 3679, 4373, 4541, 5773, 5845, 8992, 9143; ʿὡς τὸ ἐπληροφορέθη(ν)ʾ ('when he was informed of it'), vv.1088, 1176, 2176, 2679, 3486, 5150, 6265, 6428, 6896, 8782; ʿκι ὁ ρήγας ὡς τὸ ἤκουσε(ν)ʾ ('and when the King heard this'), vv.478, 3462, 6498, 6830, 7138, 7827, 8136; ʿκράζει (κράζουν) τοὺς κεφαλᾶδες του (τους)ʾ ('he (they) summon his (their) notables'), vv.2443, 2571, 2627, 3819, 3959, 6680, 8809, 8997; ʿβουλὴν ἀπῆραν ἐνομοῦʾ ('they took counsel together'), vv.205, 702, 906, 2935, 3198, 3638, 5688, 5693; ʿτὲς (οἱ, τῆς, στὰς) συμφωνίες (συμφωνίας) ἐκεῖνες (ἐκείνης, ἐκείνας)ʾ ('(on) those agreement(s)'), vv.371, 571, 580, 1893, 1896, 2420, 2853, 6400, 8591. The vocabulary of B displays similar preoccupations. Thus, there are some eighty-six occurrences of the noun 'messages' ('messengers') and over one hundred and thirty of the noun 'conseil' ('counsel'), while the different forms of the verbs 'acorder' ('to agree'), 'appeler' ('to call'), 'commander' ('to order'), 'conseiller' ('to counsel'), 'demander' ('to ask'), 'dire' ('to say'), 'envoyer' ('to dispatch'), 'mander' ('to request', 'to summon' or 'to send'), 'oïr' ('to hear'), 'parler' ('to speak'), and 'respondre' ('to answer') are also common. For details, see M. Jeffreys (1973) 178–81 and Rodrigues, vol. 2 (1996).

and summons his own council, to which he shows the letters and relates the gist of the oral message he was given. A debate ensues, and the envoys are recalled, given a public audience, and subjected to further cross-examination. Finally, Charles, with the concurrence of his council, accepts the proposal for the alliance with Guillaume II, and, selecting his own envoys, dispatches them to Andravida. There, they are in turn received by the Prince, who, upon learning of the message they bear, is greatly satisfied with developments, and makes preparations to travel to the Kingdom of Sicily for the wedding. Within this single, relatively short, passage, eleven separate exchanges are presented as taking place between various named and unnamed interlocutors. We can analyse the representation and function of such speech acts in the two major versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*.

TYPES OF SPEECH ACT

Both the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle* represent speech acts by a variety of methods. Of these, relatively straightforward are narrativized discourse, indirect discourse, and direct discourse. In addition to these three, there exist two further and more complex methods of representation in which elements of the direct and indirect modes are mingled, namely free indirect discourse and free direct discourse.

Narrativized Discourse

Narrativized discourse occurs when the words pronounced by characters are completely excluded in favour of a simple reference to the linguistic act itself. Phrases such as 'Mais li noble homme sorent tant prier le prince' (B §414) or 'τόσα τὸν εἴπασιν' (H v.2111) offer no details as to the content of the speeches,[2] for although there is a suggestion that persuasive arguments were advanced, their nature or number is not indicated. Still in the same category are 'et li conterent comment il avoient ordiné le passage avec le duc de Venise' (B §18) and 'λεπτῶς τὸν ἀφηγήσαντο τὴν πρᾶξιν καὶ τὸν βίον, | κι ὅσα ἐκατεστήσασιν μετὰ τοὺς Βενετίκους' (H vv.376–7),[3] where the general

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[2] 'But the noblemen knew to plead with the Prince at such great length [that . . .]' and 'they said so many things to him [that . . .]'.

[3] 'they told him how they had made arrangements with the Doge of Venice regarding the crossing' and 'they told him in great detail how they had spent their time and what they had accomplished, | as well as all that they had arranged with the Venetians'.

subject of the speech act is given, but nothing more which would allow one to reconstruct the original utterance. Certain verbs of speech, such as those meaning 'to speak', 'to summon', 'to greet', 'to thank', 'to swear', and to 'confess', are only found in such contexts. In B, these verbs include 'parler', 'appeler', 'mercier', 'jurer', and 'se confesser' (e.g. 'si parla li mareschaux pour le marriage de lui et de demoiselle Mehaulte, la fille de la princesse', §838; 'le duc de Venise [. . .] appella le conte de Tholouse et les autres nobles hommes qui la estoient', §67; 'le prince [. . .] mercia moult Nostre Seignor', §235; 'lui jurent', §925; 'se confessa a lui', §684).[4] In H, one similarly finds 'κράζω', 'χαιρετῶ', 'εὐχαριστῶ' and 'ὀμνύω' (e.g. Ἔκράξασιν τὸν πρίγκιπα καὶ τὸν μισὶρ Νικόλαον', v.7602; 'γλυκέα τὸν ἐχαιρέτησεν', v.6898; 'πολλὰ τὸν εὐχαρίστησεν', v.6901; 'εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ὠμόσαν', v.41).[5]

Indirect Discourse

Indirect discourse is characterized by an opening *verbum dicendi* and an object clause. Often, this is followed by a further string of clauses, all explicitly linked back to the initial one, as in the examples 'ὁ ρήγας [. . .] | [. . .] φανερά τὸ ἐλάλησεν [. . .] | τὸ πῶς ἠγάπα κ'ἤθελεν κάλλιον νὰ εἶχεν χάσει | μίαν ἀπὸ τὲς χῶρες του ἐκ τὲς καλλιώτερές του, | παρὰ νὰ εἴχασιν ποσῶς τὸν Κουραδὴ σκοτώσει. | Ἔπεί . . .' (H vv.7081–8) and 'li rois [. . .] dist car il voudroit qu'il lui eux cousté .xᵐ. ounces que eux ne lui eussent coupée la teste, car . . . ' (B §488).[6] The conjunction 'that' or 'how that' is used: in B, indirect discourse is signalled by 'que' (e.g. 'le duc de Venise [. . .] dit que grans hontes et desprisement de toute sa gent lor seroient se . . . ', §35) and its variant 'car' (e.g. 'Goffroys de Villarduin [. . .] dist car se il deust morir . . . ', §7), as well as 'comment' (e.g. 'si lui conterent et deviserent comment tout li meillor arcondes de l'Escorta estoient en acord'), while H features 'τὸ ὅτι' (e.g. 'εἰς τέλος εἴπασιν, οὕτως τὸ ἐσφαλίσαν· | ὅτι, ἀφῶν ὑπαγαίνασιν ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὴν Συρίαν . . . ', vv.909–10)

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[4] 'and the Marshal talked to him about the [proposed] marriage between him and the lady Mahaut, the daughter of the Princess'; 'the Duke of Venice [. . .] summoned the Count of Toulouse and the other noblemen who were there'; 'the Prince [. . .] profusely thanked Our Lord'; 'they swore to him'; 'he confessed to him'. For the importance of these verbs in narrativized discourse, see Perret (1994).

[5] 'They summoned the Prince and Sir Nicholas'; 'he greeted him sweetly'; 'he thanked him profusely'; 'they swore by Christ'.

[6] 'The King [. . .] | [. . .] openly declared [. . .] | that he would have desired and preferred to have lost | one of his towns, one of his very best, | rather than that they should have killed Conradin, | for . . . ', and 'The King [. . .] said that he would much rather the affair had cost him ten thousand *onces* [of gold], than that they behead him [i.e. Conradin], because . . . '.

and 'τὸ πῶς' (e.g. 'ταῦτα τὸν ἐλάλησε ἐκ στόματος τὸν εἶπεν·/ τὸ πῶς τὸν ἀξιώνουσιν . . .', vv.329–30).[7]

Direct Discourse

Direct discourse, or the quotation of characters' words, is accompanied by explicit signals of its status. At the very least, the beginning of the new unit of direct discourse is indicated by the name of the addressee ('«Νὰ μάθῃς, ἀφέντη Δέσποτα, ἐφύγαν οἱ Ρωμαίοι . . .»', H v.9027; '«Monseignor le saint empereor, et puis que . . .»', B §314).[8] More usually, however, direct discourse is introduced in H and B by a fixed schema, the *inquit-formula*. First, an act of perception, such as hearing or sight, is conveyed (e.g. 'Τὸ ἀκούσει γὰρ καὶ μάθει το ἐτότε ὁ Δεσπότης', H v.9110; 'Et quant li empereor oy ceste response dou prince Guillerme', B §315).[9] This is then followed by the textual indication of some sort of reaction, often of an emotional nature (e.g. 'μεγάλως τὸ ἐφοβήθηκεν, εἰς σφόδρα τὸ ἐλυπήθῃ', H v.9112; 'si fu moult coruciés par semblant', B §315).[10] Finally, a single *verbum dicendi* (e.g. 'Ἐνταῦτα ἐρώτησεν εὐθέως: «Ὁ πρίγκιπας, ποῦ ἔνι;»', H v.9115; 'et dist au prince, en audience de tous ceaux qui la estoient, tout ainsi: «Princes Guillermes . . .»', B §315) or a pairing of two declarative verbs (e.g. 'Ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ ἀποκρίθηκεν ὁ πρίγκιπας καὶ εἶπεν | «Γίνωσκε, θεῖε . . .»', H vv.9122–3; 'Lors va jurer li contes et dist a la contesse sa femme: «Par le paterne Dieu . . .»', B §425) will be included, and the change to direct discourse is accomplished.[11] Variants of this schema occur when the *verbum dicendi* is delayed, to be inserted parenthetically within the body of direct discourse (e.g. '«μισὶρ Ντζεφρέ», τὸν λέγει', H v.1847; '«Beaux frere», dist li dux', B §327),[12] or

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[7] 'the Duke of Venice [. . .] said they would be greatly shamed and dishonoured in their men's eyes, if . . .'; 'Geoffroy de Villehardouin [. . .] said that, if he had to die . . .'; 'they told him and explained that all the foremost *archondes* of the Escorta were in agreement'; 'in the end they said and agreed it thus, that, since they were going to Syria'; 'he spoke to him thus and told him | that they pleaded . . .'. For the conjunctions used by B, and in particular for the meaning of 'car' as 'that' rather than 'because', see Longnon (1911) 4, n. 1.

[8] 'Learn, my lord Despot, that the Romans [i.e. the Byzantines] have fled . . .' and 'Most holy lord Emperor, since . . .'.

[9] 'When the Despot had heard and been informed of this' and 'And when the Emperor heard how Prince Guillaume answered him'.

[10] 'he was struck by fear, and suddenly overcome with grief' and 'he was visibly overcome by great anger'.

[11] 'Thereupon, he asked straight away, "Where is the Prince?"'; 'And, within hearing of all those gathered there, he spoke to the Prince in this fashion, "Prince Guillaume . . ." '; 'Thereupon, the Prince answered him and said, "Know, Uncle . . ." '; and 'Thereupon, the count uttered an oath and said to his wife the countess, "By God the Father . . ." '.

[12] '"Sir Geoffroy", he says to him' and '"Good brother", said the Duke'.

duplicated (e.g. 'et dist ainxi: «Beau seignors», dist-il, «je say bien que . . . »', B §413).[13]

Standard post-discursive formulations can also be identified. These can simply state that the addressee responded (e.g. Ἐνταῦτα ἀποκρίθηκεν μισὶρ Νικόλαος ἐκεῖνος . . . ', H v.7483; 'le grant domestique lui respond ainxi . . . ', B §381).[14] Alternatively, they can depict at greater length the addressee listening, reacting, and acting (e.g. Ὁ κόντος γὰρ, ὡς φρόνιμος, ἐκεῖνος τῆς Τουλούζας, | ἀκούσων τοῦ μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, | εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ᾽εἰς τὴν βουλήν του ἐσέβη . . . ', H vv.199–201; 'Et quant li .xij. barons oÿrent le duc parler ainxi franchement et virent que sa voulenté estoit tele, si s'acorderent tout ensemble . . . ', B §65).[15]

Free Indirect Discourse

In free indirect discourse, features corresponding to indirect discourse preponderate, but certain characteristics of direct discourse also make an appearance, albeit in limited fashion. Thus, although third-person pronominal and verbal forms never give way to first- and second-person forms, the intrusion can be observed of other elements, such as present tenses, direct questions, exclamations, orders, or even expressions of time which refer to the original moment of enunciation (e.g. 'here', 'now', 'today'). This type of discourse is generally introduced, in H, by 'so' ('λοιπόν', e.g. v.4625) or 'as' ('ὡς', e.g. v.238) and, in B, by 'indeed' ('si', e.g. §350) or 'it is true that' ('voirs est que', e.g. §249). In all cases, a pause in the syntax and a sense of disjuncture with what has gone before are achieved through the suppression of subordinate or co-ordinate conjunctions. The device mostly occurs in the context of the writing or relaying of a message (e.g. H vv.4620–5 and B §223),[16] although, on occasion, it is also used in order to report a categorical affirmation

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[13] 'and he spoke thus: "Good lords", he said, "I know full well that . . . "'.

[14] 'Thereupon Sir Nicholas answered . . . '; 'the Grand Domestique replied to him thus . . . '.

[15] 'The Count of Toulouse, being prudent, | having listened to the words of Sir Geoffroy and become aware of his deeds | immediately agreed and was of his opinion . . . '; 'And when the twelve barons heard the Duke speaking so frankly and saw what his will was, they all agreed . . . '.

[16] ' . . . καθίζει, γράφει γράμματα, μαντατοφόρους στέλνει | ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ὅπου ἦτον εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, | τὸ πῶς ἦλθεν [. . .] | [. . .] | κ᾽ ἐκέρδισε δίχα σπαθίου τὸ τρίτον τοῦ Μορέως. | Λοιπόν, ἂν θέλῃ ὁ βασιλέας φουσσᾶτα νὰ τοῦ στείλῃ . . . ' (' . . . he sits, and writes letters and sends messengers | to the Emperor who was in Constantinople, [telling him] how he had come [. . .] [. . .] | and without raising his sword won a third of the Morea. | So, if the Emperor wishes to send him additional armies . . . '); 'Et monseignor Guillerme de la Roche lui manda respondant comment il [. . .] lui estoit de riens entenus senon d'amour et de bonne compaignie. Voirs est que il lui acquita la cité d'Argues et le noble chastel de Naples, mais . . . ' ('And lord Guillaume de la Roche sent him a message in reply, saying that he [. . .] owed nothing to him except friendship and good companionship. It is true that the Prince granted him the city of Argos and the noble castle of Naples, but . . . ').

attributed to a particular individual or group of individuals (e.g. H vv.5043–4 and B §350).[17] Normally, a start will be made in indirect discourse, with a subsequent transition into free indirect discourse (e.g. '*ἄρχασεν οὕτως λέγει του· πῶς τὸν παρακαλοῦσιν* | [. . .] | *νὰ καταδέξεται γενεῖ εἰς αὕτους καπετάνος,* | *κυβερνητής, διορθωτὴς εἰς ὅλα τὰ φουσσᾶτα.* | '<u>*Ὡς φρόνιμον κ' εὐγενικὸν οἱ ὅλοι τὸν ἐκλέξαν,* | *κ' ἐλπίζουν εἰς τὰ φρόνα του νὰ μὴ τοὺς ἔχη λείψει.*</u>', H vv.233–9 and 'leur respondi moult doucement car il les regracioit et savoit bon gré, et que le mareschal estoit le plus sage et le plus valiant de tout sa princée. <u>Voirs est que, pour aucunes paroles que aucunes gens lui dirent pour lui, si fu esmeüx en yre; mais</u> . . . ', B §970).[18] However, this is not always the case (e.g. '*Κ' ἐκεῖνος ἀποκρίθηκεν·* <u>*ἦλθε νὰ προσκυνήσῃ* | *στὰ μοναστήρια, ὅπου ἔταξεν ἐτότε εἰς τὴν Πόλιν*</u>', H vv.5790–1; 'Lors lui dirent cil qui bien savoient: <u>l'occasion du revel si fu par la colte qu'il mist sur les arcondes</u> . . . ', B §950).[19]

Free Direct Discourse

Free direct discourse is the process by which a statement that begins as third-person narration of a speech act or indirect discourse transforms itself without warning into an apparently unmediated quotation of the speaker's words (e.g. '*Ἐνταῦτα τὸν ἐλάλησεν κ' εἶπεν του τὰ μαντάτα,* | *τὸ πῶς στὸν ἅγιον Ζαχαρίαν εὐρίσκεται ὁ Ρουμπέρτος* | *ὁ ἐξάδελφος καὶ συγγενὴς τοῦ κόντου τῆς Τσαμπάνιας,* | «*ὅπου ἦλθε νὰ ἔνι ἀφέντης σας* . . . »', H vv.2249–52 and 'si lui requist et respondy par ses messages meismes, comment messire Gautier son nepveu, sur le seirement et la pais que il avoit jurée avec le saint empereor, outrageusement, a moult grant tort et pechié «sans plaindre soy a vous ny a

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[17] '*βουλὴν τοῦ ἐδόκαν τέτοιαν·* | <u>*μὴ πιάσῃ γὰρ καὶ ἀπελθῇ ἐκεῖ στὴν Ἀνδραβίδα*</u>' ('they advised him thus: <u>let him not take it upon himself to go there to Andravida</u>'); 'dirent que, se il se metoit a aler vers eaux, li Turc estoient yrié et de mal talent, et comme gent de l'espée, se meteroient a combatre et a defendre leurs vies et le porroient legierement desconfire. <u>Si vauroit pys, et seroit plus grans hontes que se li Françoys lez eussent desconfis</u>' ('they said that, if he were to set out against them, the Turks, who were angry and malevolent, and accustomed to living by the sword, would begin to fight him in order to defend themselves and might easily defeat him. <u>This would truly be worse, and a greater disgrace that if the Franks had defeated them</u>').

[18] 'he began this wise to address him, that they begged him, | [. . .] | to condescend to be their captain | and leader and commander of all the armies. | <u>Because of his good sense and nobility, all of them have chosen him</u> | <u>and hope that, in his wisdom, he will not fail them</u>'; 'he replied to them most sweetly that he thanked them and knew their intentions to be good, and that the Marshal was the wisest and most valiant man in his entire Principality. <u>It is true that, because of words he had heard from some people about him he had been moved to anger, but</u> . . . '.

[19] 'And his answer was: <u>he had come on a pilgrimage to worship | at the monasteries, in accordance with the vow he had previously made in Constantinople</u>' and 'Thereupon, those who knew of the matter said to him: <u>the reason for the rebellion was the tax he had imposed upon the *archondes*</u> . . . '.

moy . . . »', B §691).[20] In many instances, the point at which direct discourse emerges is blurred and thus remains almost impossible to determine. A passage from the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea* may serve as illustration:

> Καὶ τότε ὁ πρωτοστράτορας, μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲς ἐκεῖνος,
> εἶπεν καὶ ἐσυμβούλεψεν στὴν Ἀρκαδία νὰ ἀπέλθουν,
> τὸ κάστρον γὰρ νὰ ἐπάρουσιν, ὁ τόπος νὰ πλαταίνῃ,
> νὰ στείλουν κ' εἰς τὸ Ἀράκλοβον ὅπου κρατεῖ τὸν δρόγγον,
> ὅπου τὸ λέγουν τὰ Σκορτά, μικρὸν καστέλιν ἔνι,
> ἀλλὰ εἰς τραχῶνιν κάθεται, πολλὰ ἔνι ἀφιρωμένον·
> λέγουν ὁκάποιος τὸ κρατεῖ ἀπὸ τοὺς Βουτζαράδες,
> Δοξαπατρὴν τὸν λέγουσιν, μέγας στρατιώτης ἔνι·
> κι ἀφῶν ἐπάρωμεν κι αὐτὸ καὶ νὰ πλατύνῃ ὁ τόπος,
> ἐνταῦτα ἂς ἀπερχώμεθα ἐκεῖ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους τόπους.

> And then the *protostrator*, Sir Geoffroy,
> proposed and advised that they should go to Arcadia
> and take the castle there, so that their lands would increase,
> and also send to Araklovon which guards the defile
> that is called Escorta, it is a small castle,
> but is built on a crag, and is well fortified;
> they say that one of the Voutsarades holds it,
> Doxapatres is his name, he is a mighty soldier.
> And after we have taken it also and control the land hereabouts,
> then it will be time for us to head elsewhere.

In this particular passage (H vv.1756–65), there are a number of alternative places where an editor might conceivably open speech marks, namely just before 'κι ἀφῶν ἐπάρωμεν . . .' (where there is a switch to the first-person plural), before 'λέγουν ὁκάποιος τὸ κρατεῖ . . .' (where it becomes indisputable that the present tense is being used to refer to events contemporaneous with the counsel being offered), or, earlier still, before 'ὅπου κρατεῖ τὸν δρόγγον . . .' (where the present tense originally intrudes).

All five methods—narrativised discourse, indirect discourse, direct discourse, free indirect discourse, and free direct discourse—can be found in

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[20] 'Thereupon, he spoke to him, and told him the news | that at Saint Zachariah there was to be found Robert, | the cousin and kinsman of the Count of Champagne, | "Who has come to be your lord . . ." ' and 'he, however, by the same messengers, entreated him, replying that Sir Gautier his nephew, with regard to the oath and peace he had made with the holy Emperor, had, in a most ignoble fashion, and committing a great wrong and sin, "Without first [seeking redress by] making his complaint known to either you or me . . ." '.

both the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle*. These methods can be
distinguished from one another according to the amount of apparent control
exercised by the narrative over characters' utterances. Narrativized discourse
is at one extreme, while direct discourse is at the other. In the former,
information is processed so that the speech act is treated merely as one
event among others, while, in the latter, the voice of the character is repre-
sented in a highly mimetic manner. Indirect discourse, free indirect discourse
and free direct discourse constitute the gradations in between. Habitually,
more than one method is used in a single scene. Thus, in the account given by
H (vv.4407–94) of the parliament held at Nikli to determine whether or not
the fortresses of Mistra, Maina, and Monemvasia should be surrendered to
the Byzantine Emperor in order to ransom Prince Guillaume from prison, the
words of welcome uttered by the Princess give way to an initial exchange
between her and the Prince's envoy, Geoffroy de Briel, during which the
parliament is informed of the situation, while this, in turn, is succeeded by
an intense debate between the Baron of Karytaina and the Duke of Athens. In
this sequence, we find, first, the narrative report of a speech act
('ἡ πριγκίπισσα γλυκέα τοὺς χαιρετίζει', v.4413), then indirect speech
('ἄρξετον τοῦ νὰ ἐρωτᾷ τοῦ ἀφέντη Καρυταίνου | τὸ πῶς . . .', vv.4414–15;
'Ὁ ἀφέντης τῆς Καρύταινας ἄρξετον νὰ ἀφηγᾶται | τὸ πῶς . . .', vv.4418–19),
and, finally, direct speech ('Ἐνταῦτα ἀπεκρίθηκεν ἀτός του ὁ Μέγας Κύρης |
καὶ λέγει τῆς πριγκίπισσας κι ὁλῶν τῶν ἀρχιερέων | ὅπου ἦσαν εἰς τὸ παρλαμᾶ
ἐκεῖνο ὅπου σᾶς λέγω. | «Ἀλήθεια ἔνι, ὡς τὸ ἐξεύρουσιν . . .»', vv.4429–32;
'Ἐνταῦτα ἐσηκώθηκεν ὁ ἀφέντης [τῆς] Καρυταίνου | καὶ λέγει τῆς
πριγκίπισσας ὀμπρὸς στὸν Μέγαν Κύρην· | «Κυρά μου . . . .»', vv.4453–5; 'Κι
ἀπαύτου ἐματασύντυχεν ἀτός του ὁ Μέγας Κύρης | τοῦ ἀφέντου τῆς
Καρύταινας, οὕτως τοῦ ἀπεκρίθη. | «Μὰ τὸν Χριστόν, καλὲ ἀδελφέ . . .»',
vv.4476–8).[21] A similar series of transitions from one type of discourse to
another can be observed in the version provided by B of the audience granted
to the Grand Domestic and his other captives by Guillaume II de Villehar-
douin after his return to the Morea and his victory against the Byzantines at
Macry Plagi (§§380–4).[22] On the whole, those methods furthest removed from

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[21] 'the Princess sweetly greets them'; 'she began to ask the lord of Karytaina, how . . .'; 'the
lord of Karytaina began to relate how'; 'Thereupon the Megas Kyr replied | and says to the
Princess and all the prelates | who were present at the parliament I am telling you about: "It is
true, as is known . . ." '; 'Thereupon the lord of Karytaina rose | and says to the Princess in the
presence of the Megas Kyr: | "My lady . . ." '; 'And, after that, the Megas Kyr spoke in turn |
replied to the lord of Karytaina in this manner: | "Jesus Christ, brother . . ." '.

[22] Here, we move from indirect speech ('commanda li princes que on deust mener par devant
lui les prisons.' | 'The Prince ordered that the prisoners be brought before him', §380; 'lui
commença conter et retraire tout ainxi comment . . .' | 'he began to tell him and go over how',

a simple narrative report of a speech act tend to be reserved for points of emphasis. Where a debate is being represented, therefore, the arguments that get put into direct discourse are often those advanced by the side which the narrative thrust of the work tends to favour. In discussions regarding the strategy to be followed during the campaign undertaken jointly by the Despot of Arta and the Prince of Morea, for instance, H uses direct speech only for the advice given by the 'wisest men' (H vv.3647–58), while B follows the same tactic with regard to the deliberations which took place in the Frankish camp after the murder of Alexius IV (B §55).

THE CONVERGENCE OF GREEK AND FRENCH TRADITIONS

If speech acts are represented by a range of methods equally in H and B, that same range also characterizes Greek and French vernacular writings more generally. Medieval texts in both languages contain examples of narrativized discourse (e.g. *Βέλθανδρος καὶ Χρυσάντζα*, v.65 and *Enéas*, vv.693–6), indirect discourse (e.g. *Βέλθανδρος καὶ Χρυσάντζα*, vv.225–7 and *Perceval*, vv.4703–16), direct discourse (e.g. the Escorial *Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης*, vv.341–9 and the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, vv.536–43), free indirect discourse (e.g. *Recital of the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, §75 and *Vie de Saint Louis*, §§51–3), and free direct discourse (e.g. *Καλλίμαχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη*, v.1434 and *Roman de Thèbes*, vv.1197–200).[23] The presence of free indirect and free direct discourse

§380) to free direct speech ('et que Dieu omnipotent veant le grant tort que il lui faisoit, si lui donna grace que la gent de l'empereor furent desconfis a la Brenyce, «et ores a Macri Plagy, tout ainxi comme cescuns le pot veoir et congnoistre; de quoy je ... »' | 'and that the Almighty, observing the great wrong that was being done him, allowed the Emperor's men to be defeated at Printitsa "and now at Macri Plagy, as anyone can see and know, for which I ... " ', §380), and then to true direct speech (Et quant li princes ot finée sa parole, le grant domestique lui respondy ainxi: « Certes, sire prince ... »' | 'And when the Prince had finished speaking, the Grand Domestic replied to him thus: "Certainly, lord Prince" ', §381; '« En nom Dieu,» dist li princes, « je ... »' | ' "By God," said the Prince, "I ... " ', §384).

[23] For editions of the Greek texts, see *Βασίλειος Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης*, ed. Alexiou (1985); *Καλλίμαχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη*, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικὰ μυθιστορήματα*', ed. Kriaras (1959) 29-80; *Βέλθανδρος καὶ Χρυσάντζα*, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικὰ μυθιστορήματα*', ed. Kriaras (1959) 101–27; Leontios Machairas, *Recital of the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, ed. Dawkins (1932) vol. 1. For the French texts, see *Enéas: Roman du XIIe siècle,* ed. Salverda de Grave (1925); Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Conte du Graal (Perceval)*, ed. Lecoy, vol. 1 (1972); *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Whitehead and Hemming (1940, 1993); Jehan de Joinville, *La Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Corbett (1977); *Le Roman de Thèbes*, ed. de Lage (1966).

in particular, until recently largely unacknowledged by scholarship, deserves to be highlighted.[24]

There is considerable agreement between the mechanisms with which H and B insert these speech acts into the narrative and those found in other Greek and French texts. The point may be illustrated by examining the frame that encloses passages of direct discourse.[25] Both the Oxford *Chanson de Roland* and the Escorial *Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης*, for instance, parallel the *Chronicle* in introducing direct discourse by means of a tripartite sequence that begins with a reference to an act of perception ('Quant ço veit Guenes que ore s'en rit Rollant', v.303 and 'καὶ ἡ κόρη, ὡς εἶδε τὸν λαὸν καὶ ὡς εἶδεν τόσον πλῆθος', v.1035);[26] proceeds to a description of a reaction ('Dunc ad tel doel, pur poi d'ire ne fent: | A ben petit que il ne pert le sens', vv.304–5 and 'πολλὰ τοὺς ἐφοβήθην', v.1036);[27] and concludes with the *verbum dicendi* ('Et dit al cunte: «Jo ne vus aim nïent . . . »', v.306 and 'καὶ [. . .] ἔλεγεν τὸν πολυπόθητόν της: | «Ἂν εἶναι ξένοι, αὐθέντη μου . . . »', vv.1037–8).[28] The types of expressions, too, that mark the end of a speech act are equivalent in the two languages, as is shown by comparing the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure (e.g. '« . . . ces doux meins.» | Hector respont: «Sire, Achilée . . . »', vv.13162–3; '« . . . contre lor grez.» | Hector vers la dame s'irest. | De quant qu'il ot, rien ne li plest; | Ses paroles tient a balue, | Ireement l'a responde: | «Des or . . . »', vv.15325–9) with the anonymous Scaliger *Λίβιστρος καὶ Ροδάμνη* (e.g. '« . . . πόθεν εἶσαι; » | Εἶπεν· «Ἐγὼ . . . »', vv.2089–90; '« . . . καὶ πρόσεξέ το.» | Ἄκουσε τὸν εὐνοῦχον της ἡ κόρη καὶ ἀναστενάζει, | τὰ δάκρυα της ἐπήδησαν, λόγους θλιμμένους εἶπεν· | «Ὡς ἂν . . . »', vv.399–402).[29] Even in those cases where the

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[24] For general studies on the different methods used to represent speech acts in Medieval French, see Rychner (1990) and Marnette (1998b) 115–36; for an examination of direct discourse, Brandsma (1996, 1998); for indirect discourse, Rosier (1994); for free indirect discourse, Cerquiglini (1981) 18, Bruña Cuevas (1987, 1989), Rychner (1988, 1989), Marnette (1996); for free direct discourse, Lacy (1994) and Brandsma (2000). With regard to Medieval Greek, the only work on direct discourse and indirect discourse can be found in Agapitos (1991) 64–73, 159–76. Discussions of free indirect discourse and free direct discourse have not yet been undertaken; indeed, neither form of discourse appears either in the bibliographic survey by Apostolopoulos (1994) or in more recent publications.

[25] For the speech frame in texts in Old French, see Bruña Cuevas (1987) 423 and Rychner (1990) 19; for Medieval Greek, see Agapitos (1991) 64–73. More specifically, regarding the position of the *verbum dicendi*, see de Dardel (1978).

[26] 'When Ganelon sees that Roland is now laughing at him' and 'And the Girl, when she saw the people and when she saw the great throng'.

[27] 'He is so aggrieved that he can scarcely contain his rage: | he very nearly goes out of his mind' and 'she was sorely afraid of them'.

[28] 'And he says to the Count, "I no longer have any love for you . . ." ' and 'and [. . .] she said to her beloved: | "If they are strangers, my lord . . .".

[29] ' " . . . these gentle hands." | Hector answers: "Sir Achilles . . . " '; ' "against their will." | Hector grows angry with his wife; | and nothing of what he hears finds favour with him | for he

frame is not adhered to strictly, variations of an analogous nature are present in both Greek and French.[30] The inclusion of the *verbum dicendi* after the transition into direct discourse can be found, for example, in both Beroul's *Tristran* (e.g. '«Beaus niés», fait il, «je vos requier»', v.682) and $Καλλίμαχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη$ ('«$Σῶπα$», $τὸν λέγει$, «$βασιλεῦ, ἀπάρτι μὴ μερίμνα$»', vv.1194),[31] while speeches with no *verbum dicendi* can also feature (e.g. '«Sire, porqoi? Par quel [s] raisons . . . »', vv.3220 and '«$Κινεῖς με πάλιν, βασιλεῦ, πάλιν διπλῆν τὴν λύπην . . .$ »', vv.2499).[32]

It should not be supposed, of course, that the convergence was total between medieval Greek and French practice. One difference that should be noted in passages of direct discourse concerns the pronominal forms with which interlocutors are made to address one another. In the case of Old French, a choice presented itself between the honorific form of 'vous' and the less respectful 'tu'.[33] The status of the speaker and the nature of his relationship with the person addressed normally determined which of these was selected.[34] Thus, 'vous', the pronoun most frequently encountered, appears routinely in speeches exchanged between members of the nobility, where it can be found even when the interlocutors are friends, lovers or kinsmen.[35] It is also employed non-reciprocally by the subordinate party in addressing his or her superior during exchanges that take place between individuals of markedly different age or rank, such as conversations between children and adults or servants and masters.[36] 'Tu', for its part, in addition to being the reciprocal pronoun attributed to peasants and other members of the lower classes, is reserved for occasions when individuals of non-noble status, animals, or inanimate objects are addressed.[37] Particularly in early texts, however, pronominal use can be shown to depend sometimes less on permanent social relations than on the character of the speaker and on his feelings at any given

holds her words for naught. | "Now . . ." '; ' " . . . where are you from?" | He said: "I . . . ." '; ' " . . . and pay attention to it." | The girl listened to her eunuch and sighs, | tears welled up, and she spoke sadly: | "For as long as . . . " '.

[30] Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. Baumgartner and Vielliard (1998) (partial edition) and *Le Roman de Libistros et Rhodamné d'après les manuscrits de Leyde et de Madrid*, ed. Lambert (1935).

[31] ' "Good nephew", he says, "I ask you" ' and ' "Hush, Sire", she tells him, "Do not fret [about this matter] any longer" '; ' "Sire, why? What are their reasons . . . " ' and ' "Yet again, Sire, you double my grief . . . " '.

[32] Béroul, *The Romance of Tristran*, ed. Ewert (1991).

[33] Lebsanft (1987a) 52–5.

[34] Breiviga (1977) 33; Mason (1990) 95.

[35] Bianchini (1971) 110; Breivegea (1977) 33, 35; Mason (1990) 95.

[36] Hunt (2002) 48.

[37] Bianchini (1971) 109–10; Mason (1990) 97.

moment.[38] Indeed, the sudden appearance of 'tu' in contexts where one might expect 'vous' serves to convey affection, hostility, defiance, frustration, and other similar sentiments.[39] This was especially true in the genres of epic and romance. In the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, for instance, the suggestion that Ganelon be assigned a dangerous mission to the Saracens is greeted by the aggrieved Ganelon with the outburst: '«Jo t'en muvra[i] un si grant contr[a] ire | Ki durerat a trestut tun edage»' (vv.290–1).[40] In Benoît's *Roman de Troie*, Andromache, when attempting to dissuade Hector from going out to fight, initially uses 'vous' (vv.15301–24), but then, desperate at her husband's refusal to heed her, changes to 'tu' (v.15509). Such use of *tutoiement* still persisted in thirteenth-century compositions such as Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople*, where it is adopted by Conon de Béthune in his warning to Alexius III Angelus concerning the mounting discontent of the crusaders ('«Et saches que il te reprouchent le servise que il t'ont fet»', §213).[41] There are indications, even so, that, by the fourteenth century, this switch to 'tu' as an indicator of heightened emotion was increasingly avoided, a tendency being displayed towards a somewhat more consistent employment of 'vous'.[42] By contrast, the choice between a more and a less deferential form of 'you' did not exist for vernacular Greek in the Middle Ages. Unlike Modern Greek, where a distinction is made between 'ἐσύ' and 'ἐσεῖς', extant texts from the medieval period have only 'ἐσύ' in their repertoire.[43] In Καλλίμαχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη, for example, the same pronoun is employed to address a ploughman ('«Ἄνθρωπε, βλέπω λυπηρὸν τὸ σχῆμά σου»', v.1498) and an emperor ('«Ἄν ἔλθῃς, ἴδῃς, βασιλεῦ, τὸ λέγουν πρᾶγμα μέγαν»', v.871).[44] Instead, the necessary information regarding the nature of the relationship existing between interlocutors is conveyed by other means, such as either the inclusion

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[38] Foulet (1918–19), but see Kennedy (1972); also Breivegea (1977) 36; Mason (1990) 95; and Hunt (2003) 54.

[39] Mason (1990) 95.

[40] '"I shall move against you with such enmity | that the feud will last until the end of your days".'

[41] Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral (1961) '"and know that they will reproach you the service they have performed for you".'

[42] This is shown, for example, by comparing a thirteenth-century manuscript of the Prose *Lancelot* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 768) with fourteenth- and fifteenth-century exemplars. See Kennedy (1972) 148.

[43] This is true even of translations from the French such as the Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος, ed. Papathomopoulos and Jeffreys (1996). A change from 'ἐσύ', the singular pronoun, to 'ἐσεῖς', the plural and, in Modern Greek, the polite form, makes an appearance here solely on occasions when the speaker addresses first a single individual and then the collective of all those present (e.g. vv.4243–4, 4455–79).

[44] '"My man, you seem to me from your demeanour to be downcast"'; '"If you should come, you will see, your Majesty, a thing that is said to be a great wonder".'

of terms of endearment ('«*Καλλίμαχε, χρυσέ μου* | [. . .] | *Στέκου σιμά μου, κράτει με, ἔξω μηδὲν ὑπάγης*»', vv.1275–9) or conversely the adoption of formal titlature ('«*Ὦ βασιλεῦ καὶ δικαστὰ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀφέντη* | *τῆς ἀληθείας πρώτιστε καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης,* | *λόγον τινὰ τῷ κράτει σου θέλω προσομιλῆσαι*»', v.2451).[45]

A comparison of the B and H manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea* reveals that these reflect the trend found in other works of the fourteenth century. In the French text 'vous', the decorous pronominal form, completely dominates the speeches, occurring in exchanges not only between those of the nobility who share feudal ties ('«Sire, vous saves bien que vous estes en extrange païs, loings de vos amis et vos anemis . . . »', §108; '«Messire G[offroys], hui me estes vous mon homme lige . . . »', §125), but also between kinsmen ('«Beaux niez, voys veez bien comment . . . »', §29; '«Beaux frere [. . .] Or vous ay dit . . . »', §327), and even between enemies ('«Prince, vous veez bien comment vous estes en ma prison . . . »', §313; '«Monseignor le saint emperor, et puis que vous me demandés le païs . . . »', §314).[46] Recourse to 'tu', although rare, can be identified in a passage where Geoffroy de Briel, attempting to circumvent the terms of an oath of secrecy he has sworn, addresses not a living being, but rather his tent-pole, with the expectation that he will be overheard ('«Belle estache, tu m'as servi bien et loialment jusques au jour de hui; et se je te failloie et abandonnoie en la main d'autrui, je seroie faux vers toy et auroies perdu ton bon service, et j'en seroie blasmés»', §288).[47] In the Greek text, by contrast, there is blanket usage of 'ἐσύ' in all situations ('«*Ἀφέντη, πρέπει νὰ σκοπᾷς καὶ νὰ ἔχῃς καταλάβει . . .* »', v.1654; '«*Μισὶρ Ντζεφρέ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἄνθρωπος μου εἶσαι λίζιος . . .* »', v.1869; '«*Υἱέ μου καὶ ἀνεψιέ μου,* | *τὸ τί σε ποιήσει οὐδὲν ἔχω εἰς τοῦτο, τὸ μὲ λέγεις . . .* »', vv.461–2; '«*Μὰ τὸν Χριστὸν, καλὲ ἀδελφέ, μὲ ἀλήθειαν σὲ τὸ λέγω . . .* »', v.4478; '«*Καλῶς ἦλθες ὁ πρίγκιπας μετὰ τὴν συντροφίαν σου . . .* »', v.4209; '«*Δέσποτα, ἅγιε βασιλέα, δέομαί σου τὸ κράτος . . .* »', v.4256; '«*Τί νὰ ἔχω, ἀφέντη, ἀπὸ ἐσὲν νὰ σοῦ τοὺς ἔχω δείξει;* »',

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[45] '"Callimachus, my darling | [. . .] | Stay with me and hold me tight and do not go outside"' and '"O King and judge and lord of many | foremost [defender] of truth and justice | I desire to speak with your Majesty about a certain matter"'.

[46] ' "Sire, you know well that you are in a foreign land, far away from both your friends and your enemies . . . " '; ' "Sir G[eoffroy], today you become my liege-man . . . " '; ' "Good nephew, you seek how . . . " '; ' "Good brother [. . .] As I have told you . . . " '; ' "Prince, as you are well aware, you are my prisoner . . . " '; ' "My lord and Holy Emperor, since you ask for peace . . . " '. It should be borne in mind, however, that certain graphies can make it difficult to distinguish between singular and plural verbal forms in Old and Middle French where the pronoun is implied rather than stated. See Lebsanft (1987b) 10–13.

[47] ' "My fine tent-pole, you have served me well and loyally, and if I were to fail you and abandon you to foreign hands, I would be false to you and forfeit your good service, and thus be deserving of your blame" . . . '.

v.5421; '«Μωρέ, φέρε τὸ ἱππάρι μου, μωρέ, τὸν τουρκομάνον»', v.4819).[48] Each version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, therefore, conforms to the contemporary expectations of its own language.

It would appear from the above that shared widely by medieval Greek and French literature are not only the categories of speech acts found in H and B, but also the set expressions used. Such dissimilarities in technique as can be identified between the two linguistic traditions are relatively minor.

DISCOURSE PATTERNS IN THE *CHRONICLE*

Where the two language versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* differ markedly from one another is not in the nature of the methods available to them for the representation of speech acts, but in the patterns which characterize their deployment of these methods. Crucially, speech acts tend to be rendered in a mimetic manner in the Greek version, but are more closely assimilated into the narrative in the French. Thus, an examination of H reveals it to contain two hundred and seven instances of direct and free direct discourse,[49] while B

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[48] 'My lord, you must have realized and therefore see . . .'; 'Sir Geoffroy, henceforth you are my liege-man'; 'My son and nephew | I cannot perform for you what you ask . . .'; 'By the Lord Christ, good brother, I tell you verily . . .'; 'A welcome to you, Prince, and to your companions'; 'My lord and Holy Emperor, I bow before your might . . .'; 'What reward will I have from you, master, if I show them to you?'; 'You there, bring me my mount! You there, bring me my Arab!'. One apparent intrusion of 'ἐσᾶς' can be identified ('«Ἐν τούτῳ λέγω πρὸς ἐσὰς» | "And I say unto you" ', v.4469), but this, although present in a speech initially addressed to the wife of Guillaume de Villehardouin ('«Κυρά μου» | "My Lady", v.4455), in fact should be viewed as a plural form rather than a singular one, for it represents an attempt by the speaker, de Briel, to draw in other members of the assembled parliament and include them in the discussion.

[49] In H, direct discourse can be found at vv.241–50, 258–61, 274–90, 297, 345–50, 423–30, 461–75, 576–9, 597–607, 610, 611–13, 661–71, 709–20, 758–826, 833–41, 890–4, 938–64, 999–1011, 1116–27, 1131–5, 1385–9, 1583–602, 1613–30, 1654–69, 1784, 1796, 1798–807, 1814–29, 1847 and 1849–65, 1869–86, 2084–95, 2195–8, 2244, 2355–65, 2379–87, 2399–404, 2413–4, 2502–11, 2516, 2632–9, 2675–8, 2690–718, 2730–51, 2831–9, 2841–3, 3407–34, 3446–51, 3455–61, 3552–3, 3563–4, 3570–85, 3680–4, 3742–90, 3799–800, 3838–45, 3864–72, 3879–82, 3884–90, 3907–12, 3914–22, 3963–4013, 4038–50, 4063–5, 4101–2, 4108–28, 4131–79, 4209, 4222–51, 4256–301, 4304–14, 4432–52, 4455–75, 4478–93, 4572–5, 4631–8, 4649, 4717–56, 4761, 4819–20, 4903–70, 4976–7, 4982–5000, 5002–11, 5105–16, 5118–44, 5160–6, 5184–93, 5240–2, 5246–7, 5268–84, 5310–12, 5318, 5320 (with lacuna following), 5359–69, 5381, 5393–7, 5414–18, 5421, 5422–3, 5526, 5430–5, 5440–2, 5444, 5515–58, 5560–75, 5646–65, 5669–70, 5720–9, 5775–9, 5794–825, 5832–7, 5846–53, 5864–8, 5884, 5889–92, 5895–900, 5904–11, 5917–21, 6034–6, 6043–4, 6050, 6053–4, 6058–68, 6071–3, 6079–95, 6098–116, 6157–8, 6180–92, 6213–8, 6306–34, 6538–50, 6579–83, 6646–50, 6690–1, 6736–43, 6749–59, 6767–8, 6845–52, 6918–20, 6924–45, 6948–56, 6958–61, 6964–7007, 7013–14, 7185–6, 7188–93, 7406–14, 7415–6, 7425–67, 7470–82, 7485–95, 7498–513, 7521–3, 7528–32, 7539–51, 7622–92,

contains one hundred and eighteen instances, of which only sixty-two are found located in the portion of narrative covered by both versions.[50] In addition to this, twenty-six instances of free indirect discourse in H can be contrasted to five in the corresponding section of B and to ten in its totality.[51] Direct discourse, free direct discourse, and free indirect discourse are thus employed with far greater frequency by H than is true of B, the latter generally preferring to use indirect or narrativized discourse in equivalent passages.

Certain specific features, moreover, of mimetic discourse predominate in one or other of the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle*. Particularly notable is the difference between the two versions with regard to the scope of passages of direct and free direct discourse. In H, utterances by individuals can take the form of extended oratorical addresses or of briefer interjections.[52] The lengthier speeches, well-reasoned and carefully constructed, serve a pair of functions. Thus, they sometimes compensate for poverty of description and a lack of psychological insight in the portraiture of characters by creating the illusion of a 'rencontre des voix'.[53] The bravery, for instance, that will be shown at Agridi Kounoupitsa by old Jean de Catavas, who suffers from gout and cannot hold a sword or spear, is indicated before the fighting itself commences by his words, and in particular by his request that the Prince's standard be bound to his arm so that he may ride into battle bearing it aloft

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7700–1, 7704–25, 7729, 8174–5, 8209–17, 8259–85, 8289–313, 8393–9, 8408–32, 8434–48, 8513–43, 8556–68, 8639–43, 8732–45, 8747–57, 8882–3, 8935–70, 9027, 9032, 9034–7, 9070–9, 9081–7, 9107–9, 9115, 9121, 9123–7, 9135–6, 9152–3, 9171–86, 9211–15. Free direct discourse can be found at vv.192–8, 266–71, 683–700, 918–9, 1428–9, 1760–6, 2107–8, 2252–3, 3017–20, 3647–58, 4568–70, 5175–80, 5222–8, 5498–510, 6453–8, 7366–7, 7902–26, 8174–5, 8924–32, 9195–200, 9228–32.

[50] In B, direct discourse can be found at §§29, 55, 58, 64, 108, 123–4, 125, 179, 252, 288, 294, 307, 308–10, 313, 314, 315, 325, 326, 327, 348, 349, 368, 374, 376, 381–3, 384, 391, 404–5, 413, 421, 424, 425, 426, 427–8, 444, 477, 478, 479–83, 484, 511–12, 513, 514, 515, 517, 517, 523, 524–5, 529, 567–9, 570, 571–3, 581–3, 604, 624, 625–6, 637, 638, 641, 650, 673, 677, 678, 709, 714, 716, 718, 719, 722, 723, 732, 739, 748, 750, 758, 769, 774, 774, 774, 774, 775, 776, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 780, 781, 788, 795, 815, 852, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 898, 899, 900, 948, 950, 1011, 1023, and free direct discourse at §§380, 412, 518, 580, 688, 691, 708, 713, 717, 729, 731, 790, 908, 946, 967.

[51] Because of the intrinsic blending of techniques and voices, free indirect discourse is often difficult to distinguish in practice. Instances of free indirect in H can be found at vv.186–7, 238, 1428, 2322–5, 2347–50, 2548–67, 2663–74, 2897–900, 4355–9, 4423–8, 4566–7, 4625–8, 4894–9, 5044–5, 5691–5, 5790–2, 5994–9, 6279–90, 6356–7, 6682–4, 6864–7, 6905, 7892–901, 8157–63, 8402–6 and 8695–99. In B, free indirect discourse can be found at §§223, 249, 283–4, 350, 540, 701, 714, 950, 970, 976. Occurrences of comment clauses referring to the character whose speech is reported (e.g. 'ὡς ἔλεγε', H v.186) do not necessarily preclude the identification of free indirect speech.

[52] For the function of speeches by individuals in medieval texts, see Ainsworth (1972) and Anaxagorou (1998) 54–60.

[53] See Ainsworth (1990) 149.

before the troops (vv.4717–56). Similarly, the superlative qualities of Guillaume II de Villehardouin and Ancelin de Toucy as leaders are demonstrated by their exhortations on the battlefields of Pelagonia and Macry Plagi (vv.3963–4013; 5359–69, continued 5581 and 5393–7), with Ancelin, notably, using a pithy turn of phrase to rally his fleeing troops, chiding them for behaving like children playing a game called 'jeu de barres' ('ἀμπάρες', v.5395), an apt description indeed of the knights' lack of resolution, since the purpose of the game in question is for participants to run as fast as they possibly can between two lines, first forward, then backward:

> Ἐνταῦτα ὁ μισὶρ Ἀνσελὴς ἐστρίγγιζεν μεγάλως
> καὶ λέγει τῶν συντρόφων του· «Ἄρχοντες, τί ἔνι ἐτοῦτο;
> οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε ποσῶς νὰ παίζωμε ὡς κοπέλια;
> ὡσὰν παιγνίδιν παίζομεν, τὸ λέγουσιν ἀμπάρες·
> σήμερον ἂς ἀποθάνωμεν παρὰ νὰ ἐντραπῦμεν·
> ὅλοι μετ' ἐμοῦ δράμετε ἀπάνω εἰς τοὺς ἐχτρούς μας!».

> Thereupon, Sir Ancelin called out in a loud voice
> And says to his companions: "Lords, what is this?
> Are you not ashamed to be fooling around like nippers?
> It is as if we are playing the game they call *jeu de barres*!
> Let us rather die today than incur shame!
> To me, all of you! Let us charge our enemies!".[54]

Elsewhere, speeches of this type are employed in lieu of analytic commentary, explaining and outlining matters that are of a complex nature and difficult to get a grasp on otherwise.[55] This is especially true at points in the text where the technicalities of feudal investiture or military tactics are dealt with. Thus, the details of the division of the barony of Akova between Marguerite de Passavant and his own daughter (vv.7622–92), or of the stratagem by which Conradin was defeated on the field at Tagliacozzo (vv.6957–7007) are given in speeches by Guillaume II de Villehardouin prior to the actual occurrence of the events themselves.

The interjections, for their part, punctuate and enliven the narrative, not only reproducing greetings (e.g. '«Καλῶς ἦλθες, ὁ φίλος μου, καλῶς ὁ ἀδελφὸς μου, | πολλὰ ἐπεθύμουν νὰ σὲ ἰδῶ στὴν συντροφίαν μου»', vv.5246–7), orders (e.g.

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[54] According to Guiseppe di Stefano, the expression 'aux barres jouer' means 'to do now one thing, now another' and is attested in several Middle French texts (di Stefano, *Dictionnaire des locutions en Moyen Français* (1991) 61). It seems likely that the phrase was imported into Greek during the period of Frankish occupation. Certainly, the children's game in question not only continued to be played in Greece until the Second World War, but—astonishingly—was at that time still known by the same name of 'ἀμπάρες'.

[55] See Ainsworth (1990) 149.

‘«Ἄρχοντες, γοργὸν σπουδάξετε νὰ ὑπάμε | ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἔνι ὁ πρίγκιπας στὴν χώραν Ἀνδραβίδας!»’, vv.4976–7), statements of acquiescence (e.g. ‘«Στὸν ὁρισμὸν σου, ἀφέντη, | νὰ ποιήσω ὅσον μὲ λαλεῖς στὴν δύναμίν μου ὅλη»’, vv.6767–8), and questions (e.g. ‘«Τί νὰ ἔχω, ἀφέντη, ἀπὸ ἐσὲν νὰ σοῦ τοὺς ἔχω δείξει;»’, v.5421), but also taking the form of sententious remarks (e.g. ‘«Ποτὲ ἀφορμὲς οὐ λείπουσιν τῶν ἄπιστων Ρωμαίων. | ὡς ἔχουσιν τὴν ἀφιορκίαν, ἔχουσιν καὶ τοὺς τρόπους»’, vv.7185–6), or giving expression to intense emotions, such as fear (e.g. ‘«κ᾿ἔχω φόβον ἀμέτρητον μὴ πιάσουσιν τὴν χώραν»’, v.9121) or contrition (e.g. ‘«Ἐγώ, ἀφέντη, ἔφταισα καὶ ἦλθα νὰ μὲ κρίνῃς»’, v.5884).[56] In addition to this, utterances by a non-individualised group representing the *vox populi* appear, acting as a compressed and highly vivid rendition of a sequence of verbal exchanges.[57] Thus, after the second assault on Constantinople, the crusader leaders are said to have debated at length what they should do next, but the only actual words placed in their mouths by the text are the ones where, in unison, they declare that the Empire is theirs by right of conquest (‘«ἂς τὴν κρατήσωμεν διὰ ἐμᾶς κι ἂς μείνωμεν ἐνταῦτα | μὲ δίκαιον τὴν ἀπήραμεν, μὲ τοῦ σπαθίου τὸ ξίφος»’, vv.918–19).[58]

All three possibilities—long and short speeches by single individuals, and collective discourse—are employed to some extent by B (e.g. §§479–83, 374, 368).[59] However, a preference is displayed for the lengthy oration or harangue, with the two other possibilities being far less customary in the French version of the *Chronicle* than in the Greek.[60]

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[56] ‘"Welcome, my friend, welcome, brother | I have greatly wished to see you join my company"’; ‘"Lords, let us make haste and go | to where the Prince is in the town of Andravida!"’; ‘"At your orders, lord, | and I shall with all my might carry out what you request"’; ‘"What will you give me, lord, if I show them to you?"’; ‘"The faithless Romans never let an opportunity past | to break their oaths and carry out evil designs"’; ‘"I greatly fear that they will take the city!"’; ‘"I committed a wrong, lord, and have come to be judged by you."’.

[57] For the function of collective discourse in medieval texts, see Micha (1970).

[58] ‘"let us keep it for ourselves and stay here | for it is ours by right, having taken it by the sword"’.

[59] Thus, B contains, for instance, the extended speech made by Guillaume before Tagliacozzo, while an example of a briefer speech is that attributed to a squire named Perrin (‘«Sire, je vous aporte bones novelles. Quel merite aray-je de vous si les vous diray»’ | ‘"Sire, I bring you good tidings. What reward will I have if I tell you them?"’). Finally, groups are sometimes depicted speaking together with one voice, as is the case, for instance, when troops address their commander (‘«Sire, pansés de chevaucier viguereusement sur nos anemis, car vraiement que nous ne vous faudrons jusques a la mort» | ‘"Sire, take care to ride vigorously against our enemies, for truly we will remain by your side until death and not fail you"’).

[60] One-line brief interjections by individuals represent 10% of all direct and free direct discourse in H, but only 3% in B. Similarly, collective discourse is equivalent to 18% of all direct and free direct discourse in H, but only 9% in B.

These differences shed light on the respective indebtedness of the Greek and French versions to a style derived from orality. A reliance upon mimetic discourse is a procedure characteristic of oral storytelling.[61] The same is true with regard to the heightened presence of brief passages of discourse attributed to individuals, as well as of collective discourse.[62] Indeed, these are not the only indications of the status of a text within the more orally-influenced and less orally-influenced continuum provided by the content of speech acts. Also of relevance is the positioning of the *verbum dicendi* within passages of direct discourse. In H, the occurrence of the verb after the commencement of the speech proper is only attested once ('«μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲ», τὸν λέγει, |—εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς τὸν ἔκραξεν καὶ φανερὰ τὸν εἶπεν— | «ἐγὼ ἐξεύρω . . . »', vv.1847–9).[63] By contrast, nearly one out of every six (16%) instances of direct discourse in B delay the verb.[64] For the *verbum dicendi* to precede the transition to direct discourse facilitates aural reception, while the insertion of the verb after the transition has already been accomplished tends to be a characteristic of silent reading.[65]

The patterns found in H and B can be compared to those in other medieval texts. A study of the presence of direct and free direct discourse in a corpus of French *chansons de geste* shows that nearly half (47%) of all lines are speech acts conveyed in this manner,[66] while an equivalent percentage (47.6%) characterizes the Escorial text of the sole surviving Byzantine epic, Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης. Neither of the two versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* attains these levels. Usage tends to be somewhat lower in historiography than is the case with heroic poetry, varying from just under a quarter in the *Recital of Cyprus* by Leontios Machairas,[67] to a fifth in the *Conquête de Constantinople* by Villehardouin or the *Vie de Saint Louis* by Joinville, to a tenth in the *Conquête de Constantinople* by Robert de Clari,[68] to barely a twentieth in the anonymous *Chronicle of Tocco*. Together, direct and free direct discourse make up a

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[61] Micha (1970).

[62] Frappier (1946) 4 and (1976) 65–9.

[63] ' "Sir Geoffroy", —he says to him, | he openly summoned him and in public said to him— | "I know . . . "', vv.1847–9).

[64] See B §§327, 384, 424, 478, 479, 484, 515, 517, 581, 638, 774, 774, 775, 776, 776, 779, 780, 780, 781. Rather more peculiar are instances of repetition of the *verbum dicendi* before and after the commencement of direct discourse (§§376, 413, 426, 427–8, 524). It is possible that these duplications represent not entirely successful attempts to substitute the pattern of the source-text from which the redactor was working with the pattern preferred by B. Even so, other explanations cannot be excluded.

[65] See the qualified statements in Brandsma (1996) and (1998).

[66] For direct discourse in *chansons de geste*, see Aragon (1987) 215. In Marnette (1996) 29, the figure arrived at is between 40% and 61%.

[67] Anaxagorou (1998) 54–5.

[68] For all these French texts, see Marnette (1998b) fig.16. Also, specifically for Villehardouin and de Clari; Frappier (1946) 7; Dembowski (1963) 48; and Beer (1968) 82–97.

quarter of the text of H (24.8%) and a tenth of B (9.4%). The two versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* thus occupy opposite ends of the spectrum that characterises historiography.

 It would seem that speech acts constituted an important part of the common ancestor of the extant versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*. That ancestor was essentially organised around a series of monologues and dialogues. In the extant versions of the *Chronicle*, we thus repeatedly encounter set speeches prior to the account of a battle, while further types of verbal exchanges can be shown to be an integral part of descriptions of council scenes, court hearings, formal audiences, and private interviews.

A survey of the methods used for the representation of speech acts reveals these to be identical in both the Greek and French versions. The three primary categories used by H and B can be identified as narrativised discourse, indirect discourse and direct discourse, while note should also be made of the presence of an additional two categories—free indirect discourse and free direct discourse. However, the manner in which the various means available are deployed diverges considerably. H favours the imitation of speech, while B inclines towards its narration. The Greek version thus is more mimetic, while the French can be described as more diegetic. With a quarter of the entire text in direct and free direct discourse, the Greek version of the *Chronicle* edges towards the levels found in vernacular epic. The French version, for its part, is at a somewhat greater remove from that genre. This overall contrast between the two versions is supplemented by a discrepancy regarding preferences for certain forms of direct and free direct speech. Whereas H frequently has recourse not only to long oratorical speeches, but also to briefer interjections by individuals and even collective discourse, the two latter options tend not to be as extensively used by B. Conversely, the insertion of the *verbum dicendi* after the transition to direct discourse is a recurrent feature of B, but almost entirely absent from H. These differences between H and B can, as we have seen, be explained with reference to the relationship of each of the two versions to orality. The issue is whether the conclusions reached through an analysis of speech acts are borne out when one turns to examine other aspects of narrative technique. In order to ascertain this, a discussion of the characteristics and function of narrative voice within the *Chronicle of Morea* is undertaken next.

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Voice

Who speaks here? Questions such as this, concerning the identity of the being who tells a story, seem so banal as to require no discussion, until an attempt is made to answer them.[1] The originators behind the production of medieval texts cannot be known to us. Author, redactor, and scribe have fallen back into history, each more or less 'like a deity after creation who leaves what he has wrought'.[2] All that can be transmitted is a name, and even this may be absent.[3] Information regarding the actual individuals responsible for the *Chronicle of Morea* could conceivably once have been available either in the prologue or epilogue of the work, but these sections have proven to be especially vulnerable, both because of their physical location at extremities of the manuscript, and also because the data they contained was liable to be perceived as irrelevant whenever a new redaction or copy was made.[4] Yet this does not impede an analysis of narrative voice, for that voice resides elsewhere: with the narratorial 'I', the narratorial 'we', or, alternatively, with a narrating instance of an impersonal nature that is attributed to the flow of the narrative itself and designated by expressions such as 'the tale', 'the story', and 'the book'. The characteristics of the voice can be observed in detail because of the existence of comments or asides which make an appearance from time to time within the narrative.

It is certain that narrative interventions were an important feature of the common ancestor behind the extant versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*, for thirty-eight occurrences of the device exist at exactly equivalent points in both H and B.[5] Yet, although the location of the interventions is often the same in these

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[1] Grigsby (*c.*1980) 159.

[2] Grigsby (1978) 266.

[3] See Curtius (1953) and de Looze (1991).

[4] For a study of the processes of authorial naming, together with the fate of the names in question in prologues and epilogues, see the comments principally in Dembowski (1974) and Ollier (1974), but also Batts (1981) 184 and Coxon (2001) 11.

[5] H vv.441–2, 446, 1197–202, 1204, 1263–4, 1333–8, 1340–7, 1506–7, 1962, 2128–31, 2816, 3043–6, 3050, 3138–41, 3173–4, 3178–9, 3233–4, 3357, 3464–9, 3509, 3521–3, 3614–16, 4347, 4349, 5450–1, 6565, 6660–1, 6772–3, 7031–4, 7301–3, 7744, 7955–65, 8005, 8056–8, 8474–7, 8483, 8803–4, 8877; and B §§25, 26, 75, 76, 81, 88, 89, 99, 120, 137, 193, 208, 209, 217, 220, 221,

two texts, there can be considerable disagreement in terms of content.[6] More-over, there are twenty-five examples in B not attested in the corresponding portion of H,[7] and some one hundred and eight examples in H not attested in B.[8] This chapter seeks to explain the discrepancy. To this end, it examines the function of interventions both in the Greek and French versions themselves and also in a wide range of other medieval texts, undertaking an analysis that reveals the existence of contrasting concepts of narrative voice.

INTERVENTIONS IN THE *CHRONICLE OF MOREA*

In the *Chronicle of Morea*, narrative interventions have a significance above and beyond that of mere textual fillers. Two specific purposes are served by them: they structure the narrative, and they also act as the means by which interaction between the narrator or narrating instance and the implied public can be renewed and foregrounded throughout the work.[9]

Structural Functions

Interventions lend structure to the Greek and French versions by framing episodes of varying length, by emphasizing coherence within individual episodes, and by promoting narrative economy. Thus, certain interventions aid comprehension by marking the end of one sequence of events and the

228, 242, 254–5, 260, 263, 272, 318, 319, 399, 460, 466, 474, 485, 501, 531, 545–6, 548, 552, 586, 587, 608, 621.

[6] See 'σὲ λαλῶ', H v.8877 and 'ainxi que vous avés oÿ', B §621 ('I speak to you'; 'as you have heard').

[7] See B *incipit*, §§1, 2, 23, 79, 87, 126, 148, 159, 234, 242, 269, 295, 329, 490, 536, 551, 556, 575, 579, 587, 604, 616, 617, 620, to which could be added 661, 693, 744, 746, 747, 754, 755, 756, 768, 784, 798, 799, 800, 816, 870, 872, 881, 919, 920, 951, 954, 973, 974, 996, 997, 999, 1010, *explicit*.

[8] See H vv.125, 135–7, 156, 381, 384, 398, 401, 415, 476, 481–2, 494, 532, 548, 620, 629–30, 724–6, 728–30, 753, 845, 860, 864, 878, 920, 965, 987, 992, 1016, 1021, 1030, 1077, 1092–5, 1228, 1247–8, 1266, 1273, 1364, 1403, 1451, 1463, 1476, 1651, 1904, 1990–5, 2017, 2192, 2235–7, 2411, 2461, 2472, 2524, 2602, 2625, 2655, 2721, 2755, 2881, 2923, 2926, 2980, 3100, 3129, 3296–8, 3323, 3348, 3399, 3435, 3537, 3719–23, 3815, 3932–3, 3938, 4055, 4076, 4129, 4317, 4343, 4547, 4572, 4581, 4619, 4660, 4678–83, 4769, 4775, 4842, 4847, 6813–14, 7018, 7223, 7224, 7386, 7552–9, 7749, 7753–6, 7801–4, 7807–10, 7888, 7949, 8091–2, 8449–51, 8483, 8567, 8569, 8807, 8833, 8887, 8911, 9103, to which we could also add P vv.1–2, 93–4, 113.

[9] For an analysis of the function of narrative interventions in medieval vernacular texts, see Eley (1990) and Nichols (1965/6). It should be noted that elements of structuring and communicating can sometimes be found together in the same passage.

commencement of another (e.g. '"Ενταῦτα θέλω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν νὰ πάψω τὰ σὲ λέγω | [. . .] | διατὶ σπουδάζω νὰ στραφῶ εἰς τὸ προκείμενόν μου', H vv.1333–6; 'Si vous lairons ores a parler [. . .] et vous dirons', B §208).[10] Others make links explicit, drawing together subject-matter which might not otherwise be perceived as coherent (e.g. 'Τὴν λέξιν γὰρ ὅπου ἄρχισα νὰ λέγω καὶ νὰ γράφω, | θέλω νὰ σοῦ ἀφηγήσωμαι ἕως οὖ νὰ τὴν πληρώσω', H vv.1263–4; 'ainxi comme je vous conte', B §81).[11] Finally, still others express concern for proper length and insist upon the need for brevity (e.g. 'Τί νὰ σὲ λέγω τὰ πολλὰ ἃ λάχῃ νὰ βαρειέσαι;', H v.482; 'Que vous feroie-je long conte?', B §159).[12]

Communicative Functions

In order to facilitate communication between the narrator or narrating instance and the narratees, a range of interventions is used by both language versions. In H, the interventions which can be encountered include direct addresses and exhortations; third-person evaluations, exclamations, and direct questions; aphorisms; and, lastly, statements of narratorial capacity or incapacity.

Direct Addresses and Exhortations

In a passage referring to events before Pelagonia, two direct addresses are used in order to involve the public by making them share not only in the spectacle of the entire region ablaze with camp-fires ('καὶ φαίνονταί σου τὰ βουνία κ'οἱ κάμποι ὅτι ὅλοι καιόνται', v.3719),[13] but also in the experience of hearing all the hills and valleys resound with battle-cries ('καὶ φαίνεταί σου ὅτι βροντὲς τὸν κόσμον ἐταράττων', v.3723).[14] Elsewhere, the miraculous escape of the Franks from injury at the battle of Prinitsa is announced and commented upon ('Ἀκούσατε, χάριν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κἀνεὶς ἀπὸ τοὺς Φράγκους | κοντάρι

[10] 'Hereafter and from this point on, I wish to quit what I was telling you | [. . .] | because it is my intention to return to my subject'; 'And we shall now quit telling you [. . .] and speak to you'. The meaning of 'θέλω + νὰ + subjunctive' as a volitional expression rather than a future is discussed in Markopoulos (2005) 163, 168–9, 174.

[11] 'The episode which I had begun to write and speak about | I wish to continue to narrate to you until I finish it'; 'as I am recounting to you'.

[12] 'Why should I tell you so much and run the risk of boring you?'; 'Why would I make this into a story that will be overlong for you?'

[13] 'and it seems to you that the hills and plains are all ablaze.'

[14] 'and it seems to you that thunder shakes the world.'

οὐδὲν ἐπίασεν, κἀνεὶς οὐκ ἐλαβώθη', vv.4769–70).[15] Such direct addresses often take the form not only of exhortations to the public to pay attention, but also of instructions to that public on how to perform certain tasks or utter certain statements. For instance, after recounting the death of Geoffroy II, the public is instructed to pray for the Prince's soul ('κι ὅσοι τὸ ἀκούετε, λέγετε· ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ συμπαθήσῃ', v.2755).[16]

Third-Person Evaluations, Exclamations, and Direct Questions

The actions of characters are often evaluated explicitly in the narrative. For instance, H openly criticizes the decision of Geoffroy de Briel to ally himself with the Duke of Athens ('Κι ὅσον ἐκατεσκόπισεν, εἰς ἐκλογὴν ἀπῆρεν | ἐκεῖνο τὸ χειρότερον, τὸ οὐκ ἦτον τῆς τιμῆς του', vv.3233–4).[17] Here, the tone is relatively measured. Elsewhere, comments can take the more dramatic form of exclamations ("Ἔδε ἁμαρτίαν ὅπου ἔποικαν οἱ δόλοι Κατελάνοι | κ'ἐτέτοιον κάστρο ἐχάλασαν κ'ἐτέτοιον δυναμάριν!', vv.8091–2) and rhetorical questions ('καὶ ποῖος οὐκ ἐβλαστήμησεν, καὶ τὶς οὐκ ἐλυπήθη;' v.7224).[18]

Aphorisms

Familiar platitudes and overtly sententious remarks are exploited in order to serve as reassurance of the existence of shared perceptions and beliefs. For instance, when describing the spread of the news of the abandonment of Guillaume II de Villehardouin by the Despot of Epirus, H reproduces a proverbial saying ("Ὡς ἔνι γὰρ τὸ φυσικὸν τοῦ κόσμου τὸ συνήθειον, | κακὸν μαντᾶτο οὐκ ἠμπορεῖ κανεὶς νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ κρύψει', vv.3938–9).[19]

Statements of Narratorial Capacity or Incapacity

Again and again, brief comments (e.g. 'λέγω σε', v.125; 'σὲ λαλῶ', v.381),[20] together with longer formulations of the pattern 'to the person who asks me, I would answer' (e.g. 'Κι ἄν μὲ ἐρωτήσῃ ὁκάποιος, διὰ τί τρόπον τὸ ἐποῖκεν; |

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[15] 'Listen! By the Grace of God none of the Franks | was touched by a lance, none was wounded.'

[16] 'And all of you who hear this, say: "May God rest his soul!".'

[17] 'And although he pondered the matter at length, he chose | to follow the worse course of action, [the course] that was not to his honour.'

[18] 'Behold the sin committed by the treacherous Catalans | who destroyed such a castle and such a fortress!' and 'and who did not rue the day, and who did not grieve?.'

[19] 'Now, as is the way of this world | ill news hath wings and with the wind doth go.'

[20] 'I say to you', 'I tell you'.

ἐγὼ τοῦ ἀποκρένομαι· διατὶ ὁρισμὸν τὸ εἶχεν᾽, vv.6660–1),[21] are introduced to highlight narratorial competence. Narratorial inadequacy is acknowledged once (᾽Τὸ κάστρον γὰρ τῆς Κόρινθος κεῖται ἀπάνω εἰς ὄρος· | βουνὶν ὑπάρχει θεόχτιστον καὶ ποῖος νὰ τὸ ἐγκωμιάσει;᾽, vv.1459–60).[22]

A comparison with the French version reveals the existence there of broadly the same types of interventions. Exhortations, direct questions, and exclamations are admittedly absent. However, B does address its public (e.g. 'Que cescuns l'entende de bon cuer et de bonne volonté', §1; 'Si veuil que vous sachiés que . . .', §281; 'Et sachiés que . . .', §323).[23] Third-person evaluations are expressed (e.g. 'Mais a la fin, quant il ot bien pourpansé et debatu en son cuer lequel il feroy ançoys, si emprist le pieur par soy, de quoi il desherita tous ses hoirs', §228).[24] *Sententiae* make their appearance (e.g. 'amour de femme [. . .] deçut et mene a la mort et a honteuse vie', §399).[25] Finally, protestations of narratorial capacity (e.g. 'Et qui demanderoit pour quoy cellui chapitaine le fist ainxi, je lui responderoie que puis que nostre gent desconfirent les Grex a la Brenice et puis au Macri Plagy, le empereor commanda et deffendi . . .', §466),[26] and admissions of incapacity (e.g. 'de quoy le livre ne fait mencion', §798) are not unknown.[27]

INTERVENTIONS IN MEDIEVAL VERNACULAR LITERATURE

In attributing both structural and communicative functions to interventions, the *Chronicle of Morea* is hardly atypical of medieval vernacular literature. On

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[21] 'If someone were to ask me: "Why did he do this?", | I would answer him: "Because he had received orders".'

[22] 'The castle of Acrocorinth is built upon a mountain | a hill built by God, and who is fit to sing its praises?'

[23] 'Let everyone hear this with a favourable disposition and right willingly'; 'Yet I want you to know that . . .'; 'And know that . . .'.

[24] 'But in the end, when he had mulled the matter over, and thought in his heart what he should do, he chose the worse course of action, with the result that he deprived all his heirs of their inheritance.'

[25] 'Love of a woman [. . .] deceives and leads either to death or to a life of shame.'

[26] 'And to whomsoever asks why the captain behaved in such a manner, I would reply that, because the Greeks were routed by our army at Prinitsa and then at Macry Plagi, the emperor gave instructions and forbade . . .'.

[27] 'which the book does not mention.'

the contrary, interventions facilitating the transition between two episodes are employed in Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* ('Or vos lairons de cels et dirons des pelerins, dont grant partie ert ja venu en Venise', §51) and in *Aucassin et Nicolette* ('Or lairons d'Aucassin, si dirons de Nicolete', §36); they are also found in the *Chronicle of Tocco* ('Τώρα θέλω νὰ σὲ εἰπῶ πάλιν διὰ τὸν δεσπότην', v.2431), as well as in Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρώνα ('Τὸν λόγον ἂς διαστρέψωμεν πάλιν στὴν Μαργαρώνα', v.483).[28] Interventions contributing to an impression of textual unity are found in the *Estoire del Saint Graal* ('Quant li masse dont je vous oi parlet vint...', p.433), in Καλλίμαχος ('ὡς ἔγνωκας, ὡς ἔμαθες ἀπὸ τοῦ προοιμίου...', v.844), and in the *Tocco* ('Ἐσὺ <τὸ> ἤκουσες καλά, ὀπίσ᾽ ὅπως σὲ εἶπα...', v.2110).[29] Finally, interventions which state the need for conciseness feature in *Cligès* ('Del roi Artus parler ne quier | A ceste foiz plus longuemant', vv.562–3) and in *Erec* ('mes je vos an dirai la some | briemant sanz trop longue parole', vv.6122–3), as well as in Καλλίμαχος ('Ἀλλὰ καὶ τί πολυλογῶ καὶ κατὰ μέρος γράφω;', v.341), Βέλθανδρος ('Καὶ τί μακρὰ λογολεσχεῖν;', v.1129), and the *Tocco* ('Τὰ λόγια ἂς τὰ κοντεύωμεν', v.1601).[30]

Similarly, interventions in the form of direct addresses and exhortations are present in the *Prise d'Orange* ('Bone canchon plaist vos que je vos die?', MSS C and E, v.3) and in Béroul's *Tristran* ('Oez, seignors, quel aventure ...', v.1835), as well as in the *Chronicle of Tocco* ('Ἀκούσατε γάρ, ἅπαντες, μετὰ πληροφορίας, | τὸ πῶς ἐγίνη ἡ ἀρχή θαυμάσια μεγάλως...', vv.1–2) and Βέλθανδρος ('Δεῦτε, προσκαρτερήσατε μικρόν, ὦ νέοι πάντες· | θέλω σᾶς ἀφηγήσασθαι λόγους ὡραιοτάτους [...] | Λοιπὸν τὸν νοῦν ἱστήσατε

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[28] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral (1961); *Aucassin et Nicolette: Chantefable du XIII siècle*, ed. Roques (1982); *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia*, ed. Schirò (1975); 'Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρώνα', *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικὰ μυθιστορήματα*, ed. Kriaras (1959) 215–32: 'Now we shall leave off telling you about them, and speak instead of the pilgrims who in great part had already come to Venice'; 'Now we shall leave Aucassin and speak of Nicolette'; 'And now I want to turn once more to the Despot'; 'Let us turn once again to Margarona'.

[29] 'When the [land] mass of which I have told you about...'; 'as you read and learned from the prologue'; 'You were already told all about this, back there where I explained...'. *Le Saint Graal ou le Joseph d'Arimathie: Première branche des romans de la Table Ronde*, ed. Hucher, vol. 2 (1877); 'Καλλίμαχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη', *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικὰ μυθιστορήματα*, ed. Kriaras (1959) 29–80.

[30] 'I do not wish to speak of King Arthur | at any greater length here'; 'but I shall tell you the gist of it | briefly, without too many words'; 'But why do I gabble on and digress?'; 'But why draw out the narrative?'; 'Let us be brief'. Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligés*, ed. Micha (1957); *Erec et Enide*, ed. Roques (1952); 'Βέλθανδρος καὶ Χρυσάντζα', *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικὰ μυθιστορήματα*, ed. Kriaras (1959) 100–27. Details concerning the presence of this type of intervention in Chrétien de Troyes and the late medieval Greek romances are given respectively in Grigsby (1979) 267–8 and Agapitos (1991) 78–90.

ν'ἀκούσητε τὸν λόγον...', vv.1–23).[31] Evaluative comments and exclamations are included in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* ('Cele ne fud pas sage, folement respondeit', v.12), *Raoul de Cambrai* ('Rois Loeys fist le jor grant folaige | que son neveu toli son eritaige', vv.135–8), Villehardouin ('Ha! Cum grant domages fu quant li autre qui alerent as autres porz ne vindrent illuec!', §57), Βέλθανδρος ('Τύχης μανικόν, τῆς κακοδαίμου μοίρας!', v.36) and the *Chronicle of Tocco* ("Ἰδὲς τὴν ἀποτύφλωσιν τὴν ἔχουν οἱ ἀνθρῶποι | τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς πιστεύουσιν, ὁπού οὐκ ἔχουν πίστι!', vv.496–7).[32] Rhetorical questions of various types are found in *Yvain* (v.2401), Καλλίμαχος (v.1026), and Βέλθανδρος (v.927).[33] Proverbs and sententious remarks are used in the *Vie de Saint Alexis* (MS S v.31), in Villehardouin (§183), in Machairas (§234), the *Tocco* (v.1703), and Καλλίμαχος (v.843).[34] Finally, expressions of narratorial capacity or, conversely, incapacity can be identified in *Yvain* (vv.2162–5), *Erec* (vv.1668–9), de Clari (§92), Καλλίμαχος (v.419), and the *Tocco* (v.668).[35]

Countless other examples, taken from both Greek and French literature, could be given of narrative interventions which bear some resemblance to those employed by the *Chronicle of Morea*. Indeed, attention has been called to the universality of such interventions in medieval storytelling.[36] Yet we should not overlook the existence of nuances in the frequency of interventions, in their location within the narrative, and in their very wording.

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[31] 'Will it please you for me to tell you a good song?'; 'Listen, my lords, to what befell...'; 'Now listen, all of you, and learn | how it all began in most marvellous fashion...'; 'Come and tarry a while, all you youngsters. | I will tell you a most wonderful story [...] | So pay attention and hear this story...'. *Les Rédactions en vers de la prise d'Orange*, ed. Régnier (1966); Béroul, *The Romance of Tristan*, ed. Ewert (1991). On Βέλθανδρος, see the comments by Cupane (1994/5) 149–52.

[32] 'She was not wise, and she answered in a foolish manner'; 'King Louis committed a great act of folly that day | for he deprived his nephew of his inheritance'; 'Alas! It was a great pity that those who sailed from other ports did not come here!'; 'Mad fortune, ill-starred fate!'; 'See how blind people are! | They give credence to infidels, to people who have no faith'. *Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople*, ed. Aebischer (1965); *Raoul de Cambrai*, ed. Kay (1996); Leontios Machairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. Dawkins, vol. 1 (1932).

[33] Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain*, ed. Roques (1960).

[34] *La Vie de Saint Alexis in Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: An Edition and Commentary*, ed. Goddard Elliott (1983).

[35] Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Lauer (1924).

[36] Gallais (1964) 479.

TWO OPPOSING REPRESENTATIONS
OF NARRATIVE VOICE

In order to compare narrative voice in the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*, as well as to situate each version in the context of the wider development of vernacular literature in both languages, it is necessary to address the issue of the grammatical persons used in the interventions, and to mount an examination of the pronouns and verbal forms which feature in the texts.

The Greek Version

Both the second and first grammatical persons are ubiquitous in the Greek *Chronicle*, with the former appearing on average once every nineteen lines and the latter every twenty lines. Indeed, a constant urge is displayed by H to bring narrator and narratees into each other's mental presence (e.g. 'σὲ λαλῶ', v.381; 'σὲ λέγω', v.1651; 'εἶπα σέ', v.3178; 'σᾶς ἀφηγοῦμαι', v.446).[37] This betrays an uneasiness about the relationship between the processes of composition and reception. Where an oral linguistic exchange consists of the production of an utterance and its hearing within the same spatio-temporal context, this simultaneity, attributable to the corporeal interaction of the interlocutors, is lost with the written word. An attempt is made by H to compensate for the loss by simulating, within the parameters of the text itself, the establishment and maintenance of a bond typical of orality. Not everything, of course, can be transposed into writing. Thus, Ruth Finnegan has remarked concerning her recent field-work among the Limba of Sierra Leone in West Africa: 'I was enormously impressed by hearing [. . .] stories in the field—by their subtlety, creativity, drama and human qualities, and I recorded a large corpus of them. But when I came back and typed my transcriptions [. . .] they seemed so lifeless.'[38] Effective oral communication is inextricably dependent on delivery skills which include the speed and intonation with which the narrative is vocalized, but also the facial expressions and gestures employed by the storyteller, and even the mimicry of certain sounds. Nevertheless, something can be scripted into a text precisely in the form of narrative interventions.[39] Thus, the Greek *Chronicle* opens with an address emphasising the pleasure to

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[37] 'I speak to you'; 'I say to you'; 'I said to you'; 'I tell you'.
[38] Finnegan (1990) 135.
[39] Duggan (1989) 51–2.

be derived from the tale about to be recounted and heard: 'Θέλω νὰ σὲ ἀφηγηθῶ ἀφήγησιν μεγάλην· | κι ἂν θέλῃς νὰ μὲ ἀκροαστῇς, ὀλπίζω νὰ σ᾽ἀρέσῃ ...' (P vv.1–2).[40] A few hundred lines further down, Franks and Greeks are encouraged to gather round and listen: 'Ἀκούσατε οἱ ἅπαντες, Φράγκοι τε καὶ Ρωμαῖοι | ὅσοι πιστεύετε εἰς Χριστόν, τὸ βάφτισμα φορεῖτε, | ἐλᾶτε ἐδῶ νὰ ἀκούσετε ὑπόθεσιν μεγάλην ...' (H vv.724–6).[41] Both these passages contain phrases that might have been uttered by an oral singer seeking to advertise his tale and drum up interest. Throughout the Greek *Chronicle of Morea*, a fictional oral storyteller disports himself together with a fictional audience.

Narrative voice in H is above all a voice which was created by oral tradition and which subsists upon convention, spouting clichés and formulas. By its very prominence, this voice acquires the status of a guarantor for the accuracy and truth of the text. Assertions of a privileged position of knowledge repeatedly feature (e.g. τὸ ἔτος τότε ἔτρεχεν ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου | ἔξι χιλιάδες, λέγω σε, κ᾽ἑφτὰ ἑκατοντάδες, | καὶ δεκάξι μοναχοὺς χρόνους εἶχεν τὸ ἔ<τος>, | <οἱ> κόντοι ἐκεῖνοι ἐνώθησαν, ὅπερ ἐδῶ ὀνομ<άζω>, | <κι ἄ>λλοι μεγάλοι ἄνθρωποι ἐνῷ ἦσαν ἐκ τὴν Δύσιν>· | ὅρκον ἐποίησαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἀπῆραν'; 'Ἐτοῦτοι ὅλοι, ὅπου μὲ ἀκούεις καὶ λέγω κι ὀνομάζω, | εὑρέθησαν ...', vv.1962–3; 'Λοιπὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν κ᾽ἐκείνους γὰρ τοὺς χρόνους | ὁ Φρεδερίγος βασιλέας, ἐκεῖνος τῆς Ἀλλαμάνιας, | ἀφέντευεν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ρηγᾶτο | σὺν τὰ τῆς Πούλιας, σὲ λαλῶ, εἶχεν τὴν ἀφεντίαν', vv.5955–8; 'Ὀκάποιος γέρων ἄνθρωπος εὑρέθη ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν Πόλιν· | [...] | τὸ ἀκούσει πῶς ἠθέλασιν οἱ Φράγκοι νὰ τὸν ἔχουν κρίνει, | ἐκεῖνον τὸν πανάπιστον τὸν Μούρτζουφλον σὲ λέγω, | ἔδραμε... ', vv.875–9; 'Ἐν τούτῳ ἐσκόπησεν καλὰ ἔσω στὸν λογισμόν του | καὶ εἶπεν κ᾽ἐδιακρίσετον οὕτως, ὡσὰν τὸ λέγω· | ὅτι ...', vv.6272–4.)[42] At the same time, however, some slippage of the enunciating subject is recognized. The discourse of the oral storyteller is explicitly made available for appropriation by a number of secondary voices. Other

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[40] 'I intend to recount a great tale for your benefit | and, if you will listen to me, I trust you shall like it.' P is cited here because H is missing the opening folio and is considerably damaged for the next four folios.

[41] 'Listen all of you, both Franks and Romans [i.e. Greeks], all you who believe in Christ and wear the tunic of baptism | come here and listen to an important matter ...'.

[42] 'in the year from creation | six thousand, I say to you, and seven hundred | and sixteen, that was the year, | those counts, whom I name here, gathered together, | and other great men too who were from the West; | they swore an oath together and took the Cross'; 'All these, whom you hear me tell of and name | were to be found ...'; 'So at that time and in those years | King Frederick of Germany | ruled over the Kingdom of Sicily, | and had, I tell you, the lordship of the lands of Apulia'; 'An old man was found there in the City | [...] | and upon hearing that the Franks wished to pass judgement on | that faithless Murtzuphlus, I tell you, | he ran ...'; 'Thereupon, he pondered upon the matter | and said and decided the following, just as I say it, | namely, that ...'.

presences inscribed within the text (vv.1340–52) include that of a writer who composes according to certain precedents, but also that of an individual who assumes the task of enabling those who are illiterate to access the work by taking upon him or herself the duty of giving a public reading:

> Ἐπεὶ ἂν εἶσαι γνωστικὸς κ' ἐξεύρεις τὰ σὲ γράφω,
> καὶ ἔγροικος εἰς τὴν γραφήν, τὰ λέγω νὰ ἀπεικάζῃς,
> πρέπει νὰ ἐκατάλαβες τὸν πρόλογον ὅπου εἶπα
> εἰς τοῦ βιβλίου μου τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ πῶς τὸ ἐκαταλέξα—
> ὅτι δι' ἀρχὴν θεμελίου εἶπα τὸ τῆς Συρίας,
> ὡσαύτως τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, ἔπειτα τῆς Πολέου,
> τὸ πῶς τοὺς τόπους ἐκεινοὺς ἐκέρδισαν οἱ Φράγκοι—
> ὅπως νὰ ἔλθω καὶ φέρω σε καὶ νὰ σὲ καταλέξω,
> τὸ πῶς οἱ Φράγκοι ἐκέρδισαν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν Μορέαν.
> Κι ἂν ἔχῃς ὄρεξιν νὰ ἀκούῃς πρᾶξες καλῶν στρατιώτων,
> νὰ μάθῃς καὶ παιδεύεσαι, ἃ λάχῃ νὰ προκόψῃς,
> εἰ μὲν ἐξεύρεις γράμματα, πιάσε ν' ἀναγινώσκῃς,
> εἴ τε εἶσαι πάλι ἀγράμματος, κάθου σιμά μου, ἀφκράζου . . .

> For, if you are educated, and can make sense of what I write here
> and are knowledgeable in matters of writing and able
>   to decipher what I say,
> you must have understood the prologue which I uttered
> at the beginning of my book, where I told in detail
> and laid the foundations, speaking of Syria
> and likewise of the Orient, and lastly of Constantinople,
> — how those places were won by the Franks —
> so that I may now come to the point, and present to you,
>   and tell you in detail
> how the Franks also won the Morea in like fashion.
> And, if you are desirous of hearing about the deeds of worthy soldiers,
> to be tutored and receive instruction, and then perhaps
>   yourself become proficient,
> should you know letters, then take this and read it,
> and if, again, you are illiterate, then sit beside me and listen.

Narrative voice is thus constructed ambiguously within a chirographic setting. This may be seen as an inevitable part of the process whereby books gradually replaced the spoken word as the centre of literary activity.

Allusions to a communicative situation characteristic of orality feature in all vernacular poetry in Greek.[43] Nonetheless, a distinction should be made

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[43] Cupane (1994/5) 161–7.

between different genres with regard to the overall frequency of narrative interventions. This can be shown to vary significantly, with relevant asides occurring more than 50 per cent more often in chronicles than in romances.[44] Thus, the Palaeologan romance *Βέλθανδρος* commences with a direct address in which an audience is called together to listen to a tale (vv.1–23), but narrative interventions of any kind are minimal thereafter, with the first and second persons occurring on average respectively once every seventy-eight and eighty-seven lines. It would appear that, in the genre of romance, the textual re-enactment of interaction between an oral storyteller and his audience, while not entirely abandoned as a device, is considerably more marginalized. Given that the first medieval examples of the genre were twelfth-century emulations, written in classicizing Greek, of late Antique precedents, this circumstance may well be a consequence of the origins of Byzantine romance in learned tradition.[45]

In this respect, it is interesting to examine another late medieval Greek romance, *Καλλίμαχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη*. This poem contains a pattern of usage of first and second grammatical persons different from that of any other text examined. Most narrative poems of the late Middle Ages written in the Greek vernacular are characterized by an incidence of the first and second grammatical persons that is statistically equal.[46] In *Καλλίμαχος*, by contrast, the first person dominates completely over the second person, the former occurring once every twenty-nine lines, while the latter is almost absent, appearing only once every hundred lines. The narratorial 'I' displays little concern for the expectations of his public. Instead, he continually draws attention to himself, noting his personal opinions regarding the plot (e.g. 'δοκεῖ μοι', v.1167),[47] his often intense emotional reactions to the process of composition (e.g. 'σαλεύει μου τὴν αἴσθησιν, σαλεύει μου τὰς φρένας', v.451),[48] and, above all, his frustration with the difficulties of expression (e.g. 'ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς ἐκφράσω;', v.419).[49] It is no coincidence that, from among the extant vernacular Greek narratives, it is in *Καλλίμαχος* that most emphasis is put on the nature of the text as a written document to be accessed by a reader (e.g.

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[44] The statistical significance was calculated as follows: point incidences of the first and second persons were taken from samples of 1500 to 2000 lines drawn at random from H, the *Chronicle of Tocco*, *Καλλίμαχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη*, *Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος*, and 1000 lines from the shorter *Βέλθανδρος καὶ Χρυσάντζα*; incidences were then compared by calculating the 95 percentile confidence intervals for the corresponding binomial distributions.

[45] Beaton (1996) 52–69.

[46] Point incidences and significance (at the 5% level) were calculated as above.

[47] 'it seems to me'.

[48] 'my senses reel, my mind is troubled.'

[49] 'but how am I to express . . .'

"Ὅμως ἂν ἴδῃς τὴν γραφὴν καὶ τὰ τοῦ στίχου μάθῃς', v.20; 'πρὸς ἀκριβῆ συνείκασιν τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων, | ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν λεπτῶς στιχογραφήσω', vv.1061–2).[50] Here, references to aural reception have been excised completely from the main body of the narrative, appearing only in ink of a different colour in the rubrics (e.g. v.835) and thus are firmly inscribed in a visual context.[51] In *Καλλίμαχος*, we see not only the establishment of the vernacular as a written form, but also the concomitant emergence of authorial consciousness.

The French Version

The French *Chronicle* is characterized by the presence of recurring impersonal narrative interventions. Such interventions are usually of the type 'le conte parle' (e.g. §99) and 'or dit li contes' (e.g. §800), but can also contain references to the 'estoire' (e.g. §440) or the 'livre' (e.g. §89).[52] Despite this, the narratorial 'I' or 'je', although a rather weak presence, has not entirely renounced his prerogatives, as is demonstrated by a total of fifteen passages where interventions are put in the first person singular ('je lui responderoie', §466; see also §§1, 23, 25, 26, 81, 148, 318, 319, 329, 630, 693, 754, 756, 604).[53] Finally, the first-person plural or 'nous' can sometimes also make an appearance (e.g. 'Cy nous lairons ...', §76).[54] An analysis of this triple presence reveals that the task of organizing the narrative is for the most part carried out jointly by the impersonal narrating instance and the first-person plural, while the first-person singular assumes prime responsibility for the communicative function. The rarity of the first person singular reflects the fact that interaction with the narratees is rather restricted in the text of the French version, where the majority of interventions have a structural element. Indeed, the absence, noted earlier, of interventions which contain exhortations addressed to the public, or which take the form of direct questions or exclamations, confirms that the emphasis is not on creating an illusion of the immediacy of oral storytelling, but solely on the *mise en oeuvre* of the text as a written exposition.

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[50] 'But if you read what is written here and learn what is contained in these lines'; 'in order to inform the readers, | I shall set out in verse all the details of this matter'.

[51] Agapitos (1991) 56–7, 95–103.

[52] 'the tale recounts'; 'now the tale says'; 'story' but also 'history'; 'book'. For the meaning of the terms 'livre', 'estoire', and 'conte', see Payen (1984), van Coolput (1986) 208, Damian-Grint (1997), and (1999) 209–64.

[53] 'I would answer him.'

[54] 'Here we leave off.'

The consequence of this usage of 'je', 'nous', and the impersonal narrating instance is an amassing of authorities in and behind the text. In the French *Chronicle*, one can detect procedures designed to conceal all elements that might disturb claims to veracity. Thus, B begins by situating the locus of the authority of the text outside the boundaries of the text's own discursive space: 'C'est le livre [. . .] qui fu trové en un livre qui fu jadis del noble baron Bartholomée Guys, le grant conestable' (*incipit*).[55] This deference to the 'livres' of Bartolomeo Ghisi becomes, shortly afterwards, part of a more extensive invocation of the anteriority of scriptural specimens, of books, as guarantors of the truth of the history about to be told: 'Il est voirs, selonc ce que la grant estoire dou reaulme de Jherusalem nous raconte et tesmoigne' (§2).[56] Yet this alleged dependence of the narrative upon external authority is repeatedly undermined by the narrative itself. On two occasions in the extant text of the French *Chronicle*, the completeness and accuracy of the 'livres' is queried ('de quoi li livres ne fait mençion cy endroit', §128; 'de quoy le livre ne fait mençion', §798).[57] In B, the words 'livres', 'estoires', and, above all, 'contes' designate not only an anterior narrative to the text in front of us, but, by a strange, and, at times, imperfect conflation, the very text which is being created as it is being articulated.[58] Because of this, the process of authentification cannot do otherwise than inscribe its dynamic within the textual space of the narrative proper—its present ('Mais or se taist cil contes de parler . . .', §474), its past ('tout ainxi que l'estoire le vous a conté ça arriers', §440) and its future ('tout ainxi comme il sera conté chi devant en cestui livre', §75).[59] As a consequence, in B, assertions of truth gloss over—but do not succeed in completely disguising—the fact that the narrative is itself the main surety of the truth it purports to set forth. Fundamentally, the authority of the narrative is in no respect superior to that of a first-person enunciating subject. It is this fact which creates the opportunity for the first-person narrator ('je') to re-emerge and promptly declare the narrative his own—bursting into our line of vision in order to deny the intactness of the transmission of the source-text and assert the value of his retelling ('si vous diray mon compte, non pas ainxi

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[55] 'This is the *Book* [. . .] that was found in a book that formerly belonged to the noble baron Bartolomeo Ghisi, the Grand Constable.'

[56] 'It is true, as the *Great History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* recounts and bears witness to.'

[57] 'which the book does not mention here'; 'which the book does not mention'.

[58] It may be noted that, in contrast to B, allusions to a '$\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}o\nu$' in H are not presented impersonally, but tend instead to be accompanied by a possessive or other grammatical form referring explicitly to the first-person narrator (e.g. '$\epsilon\grave{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau o\tilde{\upsilon}\ \beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}o\upsilon\ \mu o\upsilon\ \tau\grave{\eta}\nu\ \mathring{\alpha}\rho\chi\grave{\eta}\nu\ \tau\grave{o}\ \pi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma\ \tau\grave{o}\ \mathring{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha$', v.1343; see also vv.1357, 1506, 3179, 3469, 4683, 4885, 6149, 6259, 7557).

[59] 'But now this tale stops talking . . .'; 'as the story has been narrated to you here at an earlier point'; 'as will be narrated later in this book'.

com je trovay par escript, mais . . . ', §1).[60] Even so, the narratorial 'I' does not completely regain lost ground, for, unlike his equivalent in the Greek version, he never undertakes to present himself as an originator, but merely as an intermediary and re-interpreter. The ambiguous status both of the impersonal narrating instance and of the first-person narrator as authorities contributes to an instability of narrative voice in B, an instability which is not completely resolved by recourse to the first-person plural. This first-person plural appears to stand for 'je' together with the impersonal narrative instance.[61] It excludes the audience or readership by designating them separately by means of the second-person plural (e.g. 'nous vous contons', §234).[62]

In all of the above, B conforms closely to patterns found in other prose-texts of the late Middle Ages also written in French. Indeed, the very decision to redact the *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée* in prose reflects certain contemporary preoccupations. In francophone historiography during this period the choice of prose and the escape from verse represented a 'quest for a greater truth',[63] and was a consequence of the discredit which, at the turn of the twelfth century, had begun to be cast on the value of versification in historical discourse.[64] Indeed, mistrust of the veracity of verse was already apparent in the anonymous *La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne* of *c.*1190, where it was declared that: 'No one is able to compose a *chanson de geste* | Without telling fibs where the verse determines | That the words be ordered and cut to fit the rhyme'.[65] A few years later, indictment was combined with an emphatic insistence on the need to offer a more transparent presentation of events by the anonymous author of a history of Philippe-Auguste: 'Now I will here give you the tale | Not in rhyme, but truly related | [. . .] | For no poem can be produced | Without it being necessary to add to the history | Untruth in order to make the rhyme'.[66] In these early cases, the objections uttered against the verse-form were significantly undercut by recourse to the very medium that was being disparaged. This association of the accurate recounting of events with the medium of prose-writing,

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[60] 'I will henceforth tell you my tale, not as I found it written, but . . . '.

[61] Perret (1982) 173.

[62] 'We recount to you.'

[63] Baumgartner (1987) 167 and (1994) 1–9.

[64] Spiegel (1984) (1987) and Damian-Grint (1999) 172–7.

[65] *La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne*, ed. P. Rinoldi (2000) vv.2901–4: 'Nus hom ne puet chançon de geste dire | qu'il ne mente la ou le vers define | a mos drecier et a tailler la rime'. There is some debate regarding the date of this work.

[66] 'Issi vos an feré le conte | Non pas rimé, que en droit conte | [. . .] | Quar anviz puest estre rimée | Estoire ou n'ai ajostée | Mançonge por fere la rime' (vv.99–107). Of this history, whose patron may have been the Castellan of Sens, Giles de Flagi, a man active in the years between 1203 and 1246, only a few lines are preserved in Additional 21212, a manuscript belonging to the British Library. For details and a partial edition, see Meyer (1877) 481–503.

however, would make the transition from the realm of theory to that of practice with the appearance of the very first datable French historical narrative in prose, the *Pseudo-Turpin* of Nicolas de Senlis, written *c*.1202.[67] Both it, and other versions of the *Pseudo-Turpin* produced around the same time, contain explicit comments on the merits of the medium adopted ('Many people have heard it sung or told, but what these singers and *jongleurs* sing and speak of is nothing but a lie. No rhymed tale is true. Everything said in such tales is lies'; 'And because the arrangement of rhyme relies upon words garnered outside history proper, [. . .] it was desired [. . .] that this book should be made without being put into rhyme'; 'Because history, when it is composed in rhyme, seems to lie, this [history] has been put into French without rhyme').[68] Indeed, by the second decade of the thirteenth century, when the version of *Pseudo-Turpin* penned by Guillaume de Briane was produced, there are signs that 'matter-of-fact' prose was well on the way to being considered the normal medium of historiography, for de Briane does not even mention the controversy between verse and prose, apparently taking it for granted that the latter medium is the correct one to use, and simply telling his audience that 'the history is assuredly true'.[69] While the verse chronicle in French did not disappear completely, it was gradually sidelined in the course of the thirteenth century.

In parallel to this shift to prose as the appropriate medium for historiography, it is possible to trace a trajectory through which late medieval French literature evolved away from the discourse of a speaker towards the presentation of narrative as a speakerless discourse—towards 'enunciation without an enunciator'.[70] Gone is any pretension to the immediacy of the type of interaction that existed in oral storytelling and, in its place, we find instead a conscious attempt to convey the impression of dispassionate detachment: the narrative increasingly seeks to narrate itself.[71] This effacement of the first-person narrator and his

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[67] This manuscript is partially edited in *Die sogenannte poitevinische Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. Auracher (1877) 6.

[68] 'Maintes gens en ont oï conter e chanter, mes n'est si mensongie non ço qu'il en dient e chantent cil jongleor ne cil conteor. Nus contes rimes n'est verais. Tot est mensongie ço qu'il en dient . . . ', Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 124 fo. 1r. ; 'Et pour ce que rime se viueult a faitier mos conquis hors d'istoire, viueult [. . .] que cest livre soit fait sans rime', Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 573, fo. 147r.; 'Pour che que l'estoire traitie par rime samble menchonge est cheste sans rime mise en romans', Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 1621, fo. 208r. For details, see Buda (1989) 6; Spiegel (1993) 55, 347 n.87 and n.90; Ainsworth (1990) 31–6.

[69] British Library Arundel 220, edited in *The Anglo-Norman Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle of William de Briane*, ed. Short (1973) 31: 'certeynement [. . .] l'estoyre est veraie'. For details, see Damian-Grint (1999) 176.

[70] Fleischman (1990a) 32.

[71] Nichols (1970) 384–6.

replacement by an impersonal narrative voice brought with it the use of expressions such as 'cy commence', 'cy dit', but especially 'li contes dit que . . .'.[72] The phenomenon can be observed in the Grail romances,[73] but it is also a key feature of prose historiography, as is illustrated by the occurrence of the phrases 'et bien tesmoigne li livre' (§§231, 236) and 'li livres ore se taist' (§201) in Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople*.[74]

The preference for the impersonal narrating instance in late medieval French did not mean that the first-person narrator was ignored, for while the narratorial 'I' has a textual presence much reduced from that found in poetry, particularly verse-romance, the disappearance of that 'I' is not complete. References to 'li contes' can coexist with those to a first-person narrator, as in this example from the *Estoire del Saint Graal:* 'Par cele manière que je vous ai devisé fu la maisons establie premièrement si rice et si biele comme jou vous ai contet. Apres fu désertée trop malement, si comme jou vous deviserai, mais çou n'iert mie ichi endroit, quar a tant s'en taist li contes orendroit que assés a parlet et retourne as messages dont vous avés oït' (p.73).[75] Indeed, the scholar Sophie Marnette has observed that in none of the eight thirteenth- and fourteenth-century prose narratives examined by her was the first-person entirely absent.[76] Even a work such as *La Mort le roi Artu*, which assiduously avoids the first-person singular, still contains some vestigial usage, in the form of two occurrences.[77] It would seem that the first person lingered on because the act of communicating with the readership was not adequately met by 'li contes'. The prose *Tristan* illustrates this point, for it contains a number of first-person comments performing a communicative function (e.g. 'Et se aucuns me demandoit qui li dui chevalier estoient, je direois que li uns estoit apelez Marganor et li autres Hestor des Mares', §402).[78]

It may be noted that the introduction of the first-person plural 'nous' with a sense that excludes the readership is a feature introduced into French literature by the thirteenth-century prose-chronicles on the conquest of

[72] 'here begins', 'here it is said', 'the tale says that'. Perret (1988) 264–5.
[73] Pemberton (1984), van Coolput (1986) 208–9, Baumgartner (1987) 172–7 and (1994), Chase (1994).
[74] 'and the book truly bears witness to . . .' and 'now the book falls silent'. Beer (1970) 276–7, (1977) 12, and (1979) 301–2.
[75] 'So, in the manner which I have described to you, the house was initially founded, and was rich and beautiful, just as I have told you. After that it was sorely abandoned, as I shall describe, although not here, for at this point the tale falls silent, having spoken enough, and returns to the messengers of whom you have heard.' *Le Saint Graal ou le Joseph d'Arimathie: Première branche des romans de la Table Ronde*, vol. 3, ed. Hucher (1878).
[76] Marnette (1998b) 19.
[77] Marnette (1998b) 19 and fig. A.
[78] 'If anyone were to ask me the identity of the two knights, I would reply that the one was called Marganor and the other Hector des Mares.' *Le Roman de Tristan en prose*, ed. Curtius, vol. 1 (1963).

Constantinople.[79] An examination of other genres reveals the trait to be a peculiarity of historiography largely absent from epics, romances, and the lives of saints.[80]

Narrative voice in the *Chronicle of Morea* can thus be analysed through an examination of the types and incidence of interventions. Such interventions can be shown to have been an integral part of the common ancestor of the extant versions. From the evidence of H and B, they appear to have fulfilled two functions: they helped structure the narrative and they guided its reception. Interventions of both varieties were a universal characteristic of medieval literary texts. All this notwithstanding, very different concepts of voice were developed in the Greek and French versions. By making intensive use of both the first-person singular and the second-person singular and plural, H continually seeks to maintain a communicative bond reminiscent of that established between a singer of tales and his audience during an oral performance. The distance of this text from true orality is demonstrated by the appropriation of the voice of the first-person narrator not only by the persona of the writer, but also by that of the reader. Indebtedness to oral precedents, however, remains stronger here than is the case with writings in Greek belonging to other genres, such as that of romance, for there narrative interventions are much less frequent, and the gradual emergence of authorial consciousness can be observed. For its part, B contains a triple narrative presence—that of 'nous', 'je', and, above all, of 'li contes'. Whilst authority appears to reside with the impersonal narrating instance, that authority is gradually undermined within the text. Yet the narratorial 'I' never goes so far as to assume the role of the creator of the narrative, as happens in the Greek version. Use of an ambiguous first-person plural provides an unsatisfactory solution to the tension between these two voices. All in all, B reflects changes in late medieval French literature, notably in historiography, where the gradual preferment of prose over verse was accompanied by a series of other shifts, the most striking of which entailed the marginalization of the first-person narrator and the elaboration, ultimately, of a new set of rules regarding the requisite tone to be adopted by a narrative so as to convince readers of its contents' historicity and truth.

These contrasting conceptualizations in H and B of narrative voice can be shown to represent distinct stages in the respective development of Greek and French vernacular literature. A closer look at this issue of evolution is taken next, with discussion focusing upon an indicative feature, that of tense-switching.

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[79] Marnette (1996) 175–6 and (1998a) 453–4.
[80] Marnette (1998a); however, see Eley (1990) 184.

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Tense-Switching

A comparison of the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* reveals considerable discrepancy between them with regard to the usage of tense.[1] This is apparent if one examines any attempt, brief or sustained, made in the versions to relate events that have taken place at an earlier date. Thus, when recounting the initial encounter of Geoffroy II de Villehardouin and his wife to be, the daughter of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, the French version of the *Chronicle* has recourse to a string of preterites and imperfects ('Et quant il [Geoffroy] sot que la fille de l'empereor estoit arrivée au port de Beauvoir, si ala tout droit vers la dame et entra dedens la galie où elle estoit; si la salua noblement et lui pria . . .', §178), whereas the Greek version alternates aorist and present verb forms in a seemingly irrational manner ('*Τὸ ἀκούσει το ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲς σπουδαίως ἐκεῖσε ἀπῆλθε· | ΠΕΖΕΥΓΕΙ ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλογον, στὸ κάτεργον ἐσέβην, | καὶ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΑͺ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνου τὴν θυγάτηρ, | ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ κι ΑΞΙΩΝΕΙ την . . .*', vv.2491–4).[2] If these passages were in English, a near equivalent of this usage of tenses would be: 'And when he [Geoffroy] learned that the daughter of the emperor had arrived at the port of Beauvoir, he went directly to the lady and boarded the galley where she was; and he greeted her in noble fashion and begged her . . .' and 'Upon hearing this, Sir Geoffroy went there in haste; | he DISMOUNTS from his horse, and boarded the galley | and he GREETS the daughter of the emperor, | he ASKS and BEGS her . . .'. Generally, in B, 'historical' tenses (the preterite or *passé simple*, the imperfect, the past anterior and pluperfect) are favoured and 'present' tenses (the present proper and the perfect or *passé composé*) are absent.[3] In H, by contrast, although the aorist, imperfect and pluperfect

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[1] Given that it is a task of impractical size to analyse all the verb-forms in texts of this length, this study has been concerned with a series of seven sample passages: H vv.587–703 and B §§44–50; H vv.1459–74 and B §§95–103; H vv.2472–625 and B §§176–86; H vv.4975–5583 and B §§338–85; H vv.7955–8055 and B §§545–52; H vv.8569–779 and B §§589–606; B §§954–72.

[2] Present tenses in narrative will be indicated throughout this chapter by capitalization.

[3] For the separation of Old French tenses into 'historical' and 'present', see Blanc (1964) 106; Saunders (1969) 151; Pickens (1979) 169; and Harris (1982) 42–70. The two categories are derived from Weinrich, trans. Lacoste (1973) 20–65. The reason for including the French perfect within the category of 'present' tenses is apparent if one undertakes a comparison of the perfect

predominate,[4] there intrude a significant number of presents of a rather peculiar nature. These presents appear gratuitous, because their substitution with a genuine past tense would not lead to a change in semantic interpretation. Their temporal context is always past.[5]

The mixing of presents with other tenses within the same passage and often the same sentence is known as 'tense-switching'.[6] This chapter seeks to elucidate the existence of the phenomenon in the Greek version and, conversely, its absence in the French version.

METRICAL PRESSURES

Formal constraints cannot be easily dismissed as an explanation for tense-switching in the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea*. Indeed, the possibility

to the preterite: the former refers to an action or state which is situated within a period of time which includes the present moment or is seen as being still relevant at the present moment (e.g. 'have you seen him lately?'), while in the case of the latter the event or series of events takes place within a period of time which is wholly in the past (e.g. 'I did it yesterday'). The origins of this semantic opposition lie in the emergence in Vulgar Latin of the paradigm *habeo factum*, and in the continuing survival of the Classical Latin *feci*.

[4] During the period under consideration, the classical form of the Greek perfect was undergoing a process of assimilation with the aorist. Given this, classical perfects have been considered here not in the category of 'present' tenses, but in that of 'historical' tenses, under the aorist. A new composite tense-form (ἔχω + aorist infinitive) did eventually emerge to replace the old perfect (Egéa (1988) 78–9; Browning (1983b) 80; Aerts (1965) 182; and Horrocks (1997) 277). However, the earliest manuscript of the Greek *Chronicle of Morea* does not have a single clear example. Indeed, there is little evidence for the sustained use of the composite perfect in texts before the seventeenth century.

[5] Excluded from discussion are presents which are oriented toward speech-event time (Fleischman (1986) 211–13; Labov (1972, repr. 1976) 354–96), either because they explicitly shift focus to the external context of the act of narration, calling attention to the channel of communication and emphasizing the interactive dimension of the narrative (e.g. H vv.1510, 7955; B §§5, 23), or because they refer to unchanging moral truths and material facts (e.g. H vv.593, 648, 1459–60, 5018–19, 5048–9).

[6] This type of intrusion of presents into the narrative has been recognized in Ancient Greek (von Fritz (1949) and Fulk (1987) 336–40), but has not yet been addressed with respect to the medieval vernacular. However, a phenomenon which bears some resemblance has long been studied as an important characteristic of early Romance literatures (e.g. Blanc (1964); Martin (1971) 347–98; Pickens (1979); J. Beck (1988); and Fleischman (1986, 1990b). Considering just medieval French, this phenomenon has been discussed most often with respect to epic: Sandman (1957, 1973) and Paden (1977). On the *Chanson de Roland* specifically, see Blanc (1965); Ruelle (1976); and Grunman-Gaudet (1980). For similar work on historical narrative, see Dembowski (1962) 48–56 and Beer (1968) 78–81 and (1970) 275–6; for hagiography or religious literature, Uitti (1966) 397–417; for verse- and prose-romances, Fotitch (1950), Moignet (1978), and Ollier (1978); for chantefable, Stewart (1970); for lais, Worthington (1966). This mass of critical material has informed analysis here.

presents itself of the existence in this and other verse-narratives of a specialized poetic 'grammar' superimposed, as it were, on the ordinary structures of medieval vernacular Greek. In order to resolve this issue, it is necessary to consider the extent to which problems relating to tense may be associated with versification. The first stage of an examination of tense-usage in H must therefore be a discussion of the metre and stress patterns that characterize the text. Political verse or πολιτικὸς στίχος, the preponderant verse-form found in late medieval vernacular Greek poetry, is composed in lines of fifteen syllables, divided into two hemistichs of eight and seven syllables.[7] The first of the hemistichs can be accentuated on the ultimate or antepenultimate syllable, while the second must carry the stress on the penultimate:

$$ \_ \quad \_ \quad \_ \quad \_ \quad \_ \quad (x) \quad \_ (x)/\_ \quad \_ \quad \_ \quad \_ \quad \_ \quad x \quad \_ $$

Apart from this, there is a predisposition towards an iambic stress on the even syllables throughout the line, but no definite rule is observed. At most, the line will have seven stresses on even syllables: four in the first hemistich and three in the second.[8] The beginnings of the two half-lines show little uniformity since, respectively, syllables one or two and nine or ten are commonly accented. As a result, if metre is to influence tense usage, it will not do so early in the two half-lines. Where the metre is only a tendency with many exceptions, there is no compulsion on the poet to resort to certain verbal forms for their useful metrical properties, because another metrical shape will serve equally well. The necessity of tense-switching has only to be considered in the case of the decapentasyllabic line with regard to the ends of the two hemistichs. Specifically, syllables six, seven, and eight can be termed the first critical area, and fourteen and fifteen the second critical area.

On occasion, present tenses would indeed appear to intrude into narrative sequences of H because of their special usefulness in one or other of these critical metrical areas. In vv.4206–8, where the manner in which the Emperor Michael Palaeologus and his prisoner Prince Guillaume greet each other is described, a switch to the present occurs once in both the first and second critical areas: "Ὁ πρίγκιπας γονατιστὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἐχαιρέτα, | κι ὁ βασιλεύς,

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[7] See M. Jeffreys (1974) 148. The fullest discussion of the political line by a Byzantine author dates to between 1270 and 1305 and is found in Maximus Planudes, 'Περὶ γραμματικῆς διάλογος', *Anecdota Graeca*, ed. Bachmann, vol. 2 (1828), 98: 'πολιτικούς τινας αὐτοῖς καλουμένους στίχους ποιοῦσι, μέτρον μὲν ἅπαν ἐν τοῖς δε λῆρον ἡγούμενοι, τόνους δὲ δύο περί που τὰ μέσα καὶ τὸ τέλος τηροῦντες, καλῶς ἔχειν σφίσι τὸν στίχον φασί' ('They make verses which they call "political", treating all [quantative] metre in these as foolishness, and observing two stress accents, more or less in the middle and at the end. Whereupon they say that, for them, the line is properly constructed').

[8] See Stavros (1992) 65 and Mackridge (1990).

ὡς φρόνιμος κ' εὐγενικὸς ὅπου ἦτον· | ἀπὸ τὸ χέρι <u>τὸν ΚΡΑΤΕΙ</u> κι ἀπάνω τον <u>ΣΗΚΩΝΕΙ</u>'.[9] However, although no past tense with an appropriate syllabic count or stress exists for the two presents in the above example,[10] this cannot always account for the choice of the present tense. In the line 'εὐθέως γοργὸ *ΑΡΜΑΤ<u>ΩΝΟΝΤΑΙ</u>* πεζοὶ καὶ καβαλλάροι' (v.633),[11] the present could have been replaced by the past forms ἀρματ<u>ώθηκαν</u> or ἀρματ<u>ώθησαν</u> used elsewhere, while in the half-line 'καὶ *ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΕΥΟΥ<u>ΝΕ</u> τον*' (v.2501),[12] it would have been easy to substitute κ'ἐσυμβουλέ<u>ψανέ</u> τον, as indeed happens on other occasions.[13] An examination of 3,703 incidences of verbal forms in H shows that there are more often than not alternative ways of expressing the same tense of the same verb.[14] This is especially evident with aorist and imperfect endings, with one hundred verbs occurring in the third-person plural in forms with metrically different values.[15] For example, in the case of the imperfects ἐκουρσεύασιν, ἐκούρσευαν, ἐκουρσεῦαν and the aorists ἐκουρσέψασιν, ἐκούρσεψαν, ἐκουρσέψαν, the -ασιν form of both tenses is stressed on the antepenultimate, while, of the two -αν forms, one is stressed on the antepenultimate, the other on the penultimate. An examination of the total occurrences of the aorist and imperfect forms of the verb κουρσεύω shows that the forms stressed on the antepenultimate are found exclusively at the first critical area and the forms stressed on the penultimate only at the second critical area.[16] Similar results apply to the alternative singular aorist endings -ηκε(ν) and -η (e.g. ἀπεκρίθηκεν, ἀπεκρίθη), as well as to the two forms of singular aorists in -εν (e.g. ἐκατόρθωσεν, ἐκατορθῶσεν). It would thus appear that H used a verbal system which offered great flexibility for the composition of the decapentasyllabic line. With such past tenses of such elasticity to hand, the metrical necessity for recourse to the present tense would hardly have been pressing.

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[9] The first and second critical areas are underlined both here and in subsequent examples. 'The Prince, kneeling, greeted the Emperor | and the Emperor, being wise and noble | HOLDS him by the hand and RAISES him up'.

[10] In H itself, the past forms of κρατῶ encountered in the third singular are the imperfects 'ἐκρατειέτον' and 'ἐκράτει', and the aorists 'ἐκράτησε', 'ἐκράτησεν'; the plural imperfect is also used: 'ἐκρατούσασιν', 'ἐκρατοῦσαν'. The only past forms of σηκώνω are the aorist 'ἐσηκώθη' and 'ἐσηκώθηκε(ν)' and, in the plural, 'ἐσηκώθησαν'.

[11] 'immediately foot-soldiers and cavalry ARM themselves.'

[12] 'and they ADVISE him.'

[13] See, for instance, H v.2515.

[14] See M. Jeffreys (1972) 127–34.

[15] M. Jeffreys (1972) 134 and Table XV.

[16] This pattern holds true for a significant proportion of the verbs, with approximately 65% of third-person plural imperfect and aorist forms which are stressed on the antepenultimate occurring in the first critical area, and 33% stressed on the penultimate in the second critical area. These percentages are based on the results of M. Jeffreys (1972) Table XV, iv.

Two further points should be made, both of which appear to confirm that tense-switching was not a sign of the poet's lack of skill in working within formal constraints. First, the majority of switches to the present (67%) in H are in fact located outside the two critical areas (e.g. '*καὶ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙ οὕτως πρὸς αὐτόν*', v.598; '*κι ἀπέκει ΚΡΑΖΕΙ δύο ἄρχοντες*', v.677; '*ΟΡΙΖΕΙ ΓΡΑΦΕΙ γράμματα*', v.678).[17] Secondly, and even more crucially, such switches are used selectively for some passages but not others. Thus, they are never encountered in cases of direct discourse, where verb tenses function regularly.[18] The speech addressed to Alexius IV by the Byzantine magnates in vv.595–607 may serve as an example of this normal usage:

> . . . τινὲς ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄρχοντες, τοὺς πρώτους τῆς Πολέου,
> ἀπῆλθαν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀλέξιον τὸν Βατάτσην,
> καὶ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙ οὕτως πρὸς αὐτόν· «Δέσποτα, βασιλέα,
> ἀφῶν ἐπρόσταξεν ὁ Θεὸς κ' ἔχεις τὴν βασιλείαν σου,
> τί σὲ ἤφερεν, ἀφέντη μας, εἰς τὴν Συρίαν νὰ ἀπέλθῃς;
> τὸ διάστημα ἔνι πολὺ ἐδῶθεν στὴν Συρίαν,
> οἱ ἔξοδες, τὰ πλευτικὰ πολὺ θέλουν κουστίσει·
> καὶ ἄλλο μεγαλιώτερον, πολλάκις καὶ χαθοῦμεν
> στὰ πέλαγα τῆς θάλασσας, θέλεις εἰς τὴν στερέαν.
> Ἐτοῦτοι οἱ Φράγκοι, ὅπου θεωρεῖς, πολλὰ εἰν' θεληματάροι.
> ὁμοίως κ' ἐλαφροκέφαλοι, ὅ,τι τοὺς δόξῃ, κάμνουν·
> ἂς τοὺς ἀφήκωμε νὰ ὑπᾶν εἰς Θεοῦ τὴν κατάραν,
> καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂς ἀπομείνωμεν ἐδῶ στὰ ἰγονικά μας».

> . . . some of the *archondes*, the foremost magnates of the City,
> went to the Emperor Alexius Vatatzes
> and SAY to him: 'Lord Emperor,
> since God decreed it and you now have your Empire,
> what possessed you, lord, to go off to Syria?
> It is a long way from here to Syria
> and the ships and other expenditure will cost a great deal,

[17] 'and they ADDRESS him thus'; 'and thereupon he SUMMONS two *archondes*'; 'he GIVES orders and HAS letters written'. This figure is based on occurrences of the present in the seven sample passages chosen from the *Chronicle of Morea*. In the first sample, apart from the examples given above, we find a present in a non-critical area at H v.660. In the other samples, there are examples at vv.1580, 2492–4, 2501, 2513, 2546, 2571, [2577], 4716, 4975, 4976, 4978, 4981, 5040, 5066, 5105, 5146, 5202, 5205, 5230, 5287, 5288, 5309, 5310, 5313, 5319, 5355, 5357, 5382, 5393, 5411, 5422, 5426, 5439, 5479, 5514, 8603, 8639, 8731. There are no examples of presents which are not at the critical areas in the sixth example.

[18] The seven sample passages from H contain only one exception within a passage of direct speech. In H vv.5109–11, there appears to be an irregular switch to the present; however, this thoroughly rare occurrence seems to be a scribal oversight or lapse in concentration, for it is absent in P.

and, more importantly, we shall repeatedly risk losing our lives
both in the open sea and also on land.
These Franks, whom you behold, are obstinate in the extreme
and hot-headed too—whatever takes their fancy, this they do.
Let us leave them to go to the devil,
while we stay behind, here in our homeland'.

Here, the presents employed as part of direct discourse do not once refer to an event which came about and was completed at a time anterior to the moment of the magnates' speech. Rather, the aorist is used (e.g. 'ἐπρόσταξεν', v.598) in an entirely expected grammatical fashion. Such presents as do appear refer to circumstances which began in the past but continue unchanged (e.g. 'ἔχεις', v.598), describe matters roughly contemporaneous to the moment of speech (e.g. 'θεωρεῖς', v.604), or express timeless truths (e.g. 'ἔνι', v.600).[19] It would seem from this reasonable to conclude that tense-switching tends to be used in the narrative portions of the Greek *Chronicle of Morea* not for compulsory metrical reasons, but for deliberate effect.

LITERARY ARCHAISM

If prosodic considerations are not responsible, or at least not solely responsible, another explanation has to be sought for the presence of tense-switching in the Greek *Chronicle of Morea*. The phenomenon may be seen as a characteristic mark of an archaizing literary style. The presents which intrude into medieval vernacular narrative can be referred to as 'epic presents', for it is in texts belonging to that genre that they are most prevalent.[20]

Vernacular Epic

With regard to this, it is necessary to begin by examining a version of *Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης* which is usually taken to provide evidence for the existence of

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[19] For further on the use of the present and other tenses in passages of direct discourse and emergent direct discourse according to the ordinary (as opposed to poetic) grammar of the time, see also, from sample one: vv.610–13, 661–71, 683–700; from sample three: vv.2502–11, 2515; from sample four: vv.4717–56, 4761; from sample five: vv.4976–7, 4980–5011, 5105–16, 5118–44, 5161–6, 5175–80, 5184–93, 5221–28, 5240–3, 5246–7, 5268–84, 5310–12, 5318, 5320, 5359–69, 5381, 5394–7, 5414–18, 5421, 5422–3, 5426, 5430–5, 5440–2, 5444, 5498–510, 5515–55, 5560–75; from sample seven: vv.8639–43, 8732–45, 8746–57. Unnoticed by critics working on vernacular Greek, this has long been a focal point for critical discussion with regard to Romance (see Sandmann (1973); Blanc (1964) 99; as well as Pickens (1979) 168, 178).

[20] Blanc (1964) 105 and (1965) 570.

medieval epic in the Greek vernacular.[21] The Escorial manuscript, in which this version is preserved, dates to *c.*1485, but a predecessor not dissimilar to it may have been put together at any point after *c.*1150, if not even earlier.[22] In vv.752–84, the Escorial recounts a hunting trip undertaken by the hero, Digenes, as a young boy, in the company of his father and uncle. Let us look at the tenses used:

> Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκαβαλίκευσεν ὁ Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης
> καὶ ὁ πατήρ του ὁ ἀμιρὰς καὶ ὁ θεῖος του ὁ Κωνσταντίνος,
> καὶ ἐβάσταζαν γεράκια ἄσπρα ἐκ τοὺς μουτάτους.
> Ἀλλὰ ὄνταν ἀπεσώσασιν εἰς τὰ ὄρη τὰ μεγάλα,
> δύο ἀρκούδια ἐπήδησαν ἀπόσω ἀπὸ τὸ δάσος,
> ἀρσενικὸν καὶ θηλυκόν, εἶχαν καὶ δύο κουλούκια.
> Καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ ἰδεῖν τα ὁ Διγενής, τὸν θεῖον του οὕτως ΛΕΓΕΙ:
> «Τί ’ναι ἐκεῖνα, ὁ θεῖος μου, ὁποὺ ἀπηδοῦν καὶ φεύγουν;»
> Τοῦ ΛΕΓΕΙ: «Αὐτὰ εἶναι, Διγενή, τὰ λέγουσιν ἀρκούδια
> καὶ ὅποιος τὰ πιάσῃ, Διγενή, ἔναι πολλὰ ἀνδρειωμένος».
> Καὶ ὁ Διγενὴς ὡς τὸ ἤκουσεν, εἰς αὐτὰ ΚΑΤΕΒΑΙΝΕΙ
> καὶ τὸ ραβδίν του ἐσήκωσεν καὶ ἐπρόλαβεν τὰ <ἀρκούδια>.
> Τὸ θηλυκὸν εἰς πόλεμον διὰ τὰ κουλούκια ἐστάθην,
> καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἦτο ἐγλήγορος καὶ ἀπάνω του ἐκατέβην·
> καὶ οὐκ ἐσυνέφθασεν γοργόν, ἵνα ραβδέα τοῦ δώσῃ,
> ἀλλὰ ὡσὰν τοῦ ἐσίμωσεν, ΚΛΕΙΔΩΝΕΙ το εἰς τὰς χεῖρας
> κ’ἔσφιξεν τοὺς βραχίονας του καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπέπνιξέν το.
> Καὶ ὡς εἶδεν τὸ ἑταίριν του, ἐστράφην ἐξοπίσω
> καὶ μίλιν τοῦ <ἀπεξέβηκεν> φευγόμενον ἐξ αὐτόν.
> Καὶ <ὁ Διγενής>, ὁ νεώτερος, εἶχεν γοργὸν τὸ στρέμμαν,
> ἦτον καὶ <γὰρ> ὑπόστεγνος καὶ ἐγνώθουντα οἱ νεφροί του,
> καὶ εἰς τέσσαρα πηδήματα τὸν ἄρκον ΚΑΤΑΦΘΑΝΕΙ
> καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ κατωμάγουλον γοργὸν ΠΙΑΝΕΙ, ΚΡΑΤΕΙ τον
> κ’εἰς δύο μέρη τὸν ἔσχισει, ΣΤΕΚΕΙ καὶ ΘΕΩΡΕΙ τον.
> Ὁ θεῖος του καὶ ὁ πατήρ [του] οἱ ὁμάδι ΥΠΑΣΙΝ,
> ΣΤΕΚΟΝΤΑΙ καὶ ΘΑΥΜΑΖΟΝΤΑΙ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ νεωτέρου·
> ὦμον πρὸς ὦμον ἔθηκαν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ΛΕΓΟΥΝ:
> «Κυρὰ μου, μήτηρ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Θεὲ πανοικτίρμων,
> πράγματα βλέπομεν φρικτὰ ’ς τὸν νεώτερον ἐτοῦτον·
> τοῦτον ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἔστειλεν ὡς διὰ τοὺς ἀνδρειωμένους
> καὶ οἱ ἀπελάτες νὰ τὸν τρέμουσιν τὰ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς τους.»[23]

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[21] See Fenik (1991).

[22] E. M. Jeffreys (1998) lvi–lvii. For a collection of different viewpoints regarding the dating and primacy of the Escorial and Grottaferrata versions of the epic, see *Digenes Akrites: New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, ed. Beaton and Ricks (1993).

[23] *Βασίλειος Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης*, ed. Alexiou (1985).

And immediately Digenes Akrites mounted
together with his father the Emir and his uncle Constantine,
and they were carrying white hawks that had moulted.
But when they reached the lofty mountains,
two bears bounded out of the forest,
a male and female, and they had two cubs.
And upon catching sight of them, Digenis SAYS to his uncle:
'What are these creatures, uncle, which first bound out and then flee?'
He SAYS: 'These, Digenes, are called bears,
and whoever catches them, Digenes, is a true warrior.'
And Digenes, upon hearing this, GOES after them,
and he raised his staff and caught up with the <bears>.
The female stood to do battle for its cubs,
and he was swift and bore down upon it;
but did not reach it quickly enough, so as to be able to ply his staff,
but instead, upon drawing near, LOCKS it in his arms
and, tightening his sinews, at once throttled it.
And when its mate saw this, it turned
and, taking flight, <put> a good mile between them.
And young <Digenes> was nimble on his feet,
and he was <also> lean and his waist was trim,
and in four bounds he OVERTAKES the bear
and he GRASPS and HOLDS it by the jaw,
and tore it asunder, then he STANDS and GAZES upon it.
His uncle and [his] father COME up together,
they STOP and MARVEL at the youth's deeds;
Standing shoulder to shoulder, they SAY to the others:
'Our Lady, Mother of God, and Thou most merciful God,
we see prodigious things in this youth;
He has been sent by God so that warriors will find their match
and the brigands will tremble at him for the rest of their days.'

In these lines, Digenes, by attacking and defeating two fully-grown bears turned savage in defence of their cubs, undergoes a test of both his courage and his physical strength, and thus declares his passage into manhood. The event is an important one within the poem. The extensive use of tense-switching, resulting in thirteen 'ungrammatical' occurrences of the present, can be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the poet to rise to the occasion. It may be noted that the presents first appear at points in the passage which constitute secondary peaks in the narrative, such as the identification of the enemy and the decision by Digenes to attack the bears (vv.758, 760/1, 763/4), or the initial struggle with the she-bear (v.769). Above all, they are clustered together at the climax of the whole episode, in the descriptions of the combat

with the formidable he-bear (vv.775–7) and of the resulting wonderment of those who observed the feat (vv.778–80). Recourse to the present in this type of narrative may be viewed as a technique for reporting events that are vivid and exciting. Two time frames are usually implicit, namely the time during which the events of the story took place and the time of telling the story. To use the present tense is to conflate these two time frames. The narrator—or narrating instance—becomes so involved in the story that actions are recounted as if they were being lived simultaneously with their narration, while, for its part, the audience is made to feel as if it were in attendance at the time of the experience, witnessing events as they occurred in the 'here and now'. As events and narration are telescoped into one, a sense of objective distance is lost, historical consciousness diminishes and an enhancement of the dramatic effect of the story results.

This interpretation needs to be nuanced because it does not fully explain why the present appears not as a sustained sequence throughout the entire passage, but rather alternates with the past so that the shift of temporal perspective almost never extends beyond a single clause or a couple of clauses. To turn to an analysis of the sports commentary of a radio presenter at this point may appear incongruous, but such a commentary can serve to illuminate the issue of tense-switching because its transcription reveals an analogy to Greek epic in the use of verbal forms. When faced, for instance, with a swift-moving and complex rugby match, a commentator finds it impossible to report on every move at once as he watches play unfold in front of him. Consequently, he has to make a selection and introduce an order: 'And of course it IS a French ball, although England wanted to throw in badly . . . and now Bardot KICKS over his forwards' heads, GAINS ten to fifteen yards and FINDS touch . . . but the referee's whistle HAS GONE! It was a beautiful kick, shaving the touch line, but the referee was quick to see Bardot's knock-on [from the line-out]. It will be a set scrum . . . .'[24] The resulting organization is not achieved by a polished subordination of clauses, for parataxis and hiatus tend to prevail in speech. Rather, a number of foci are chosen around which the remaining events are structured by means of a choice of tense. *Mutatis mutandis,* the narrative of the Escorial *Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης* also unfolds in like manner. In the account of the hunting expedition, a solitary '*ἵνα*' may be contrasted to nineteen occurrences of '*καί*'. The poem almost always tends

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[24] See transcripts in Blanc (1965) 573 and (1964) 112 (e.g. 'And it APPEARS to be a knock-on, but it came off his chest, and while the Welsh were waiting for the referee's whistle, it did not come . . . and so play IS now inside the Welsh half . . .'). It was Blanc who first identified the connection between methods employed in such commentaries and the phenomenon of tense-switching in medieval texts.

towards the paratactical, its syntax showing a preference for juxtaposition rather than subordination, a feature enhanced by the use of end-stopped lines. Tense-switching can be identified both as a result of the inadequacies of syntax and as a corrective to it. The alternation of present and past tenses acts as a discourse device, enabling the hierarchical grouping and sequencing of events. Thus, imperfects and aorists are used to introduce the episode (vv.771–2) and to provide background information (vv.763/4–7). Besides this, the *fait accompli* is given in the aorist in order to emphasize its finality, as happens in the case of the actual deaths of the two bears ('ἀπέπνιξέν το', v.770; 'εἰς δύο μέρη τὸν ἔσχισεν', v.777). In contrast, to move out of past tenses is to signal that the summation of an event is yet to come ('οὕτως *ΛΕΓΕΙ*', v.758; '*ΚΛΕΙΔΩΝΕΙ* το εἰς τὰς χεῖρας', v.769). Although tense generally provides 'grammaticalised expression of location in time',[25] the present is 'the base tense, to which all other tenses are oriented, but which itself is oriented towards nothing, expressing merely the fact of process'.[26] In a sense it is timeless, not only because it is non-committal about time, but because it has about it an element of the eternal.[27] As they are focused upon, certain actions are slowed down or even frozen (vv.775–9). Generally, the texture and pace of the narrative are controlled in the poem Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης by mixing past and present tenses.

An examination not only of the specific case of the modern sports commentary but also of another form of non-written modern interaction, conversational storytelling, reveals tense-switching to be indubitably a technique rooted in spoken language.[28] Given this, it seems likely that the appearance of the phenomenon in medieval literature in the Greek vernacular may also have originally emerged in contexts relating to orality, and more especially in situations where performance was accompanied by composition or improvisation. If so, then the Escorial text of the epic Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης may be said to deploy tense in a manner which continued to be derived from the pragmatic demands imposed by an inherited communicative situation.

A Stylistic Convention

In its usage of tenses, the Greek *Chronicle of Morea* can be situated at a greater distance from an oral-traditional background than the Escorial Διγενὴς

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[25] Comrie (1985) 9.
[26] Fleischman (1990b) 34–5.
[27] Fleischman (1990b) 35.
[28] For a study of tense-switching in Modern English conversational storytelling, see Labov (1972, repr. 1976) 354–96 and Wolfson (1978); for the equivalent in Modern Greek, see Paraskevas (1994) and Georgakopoulou (1994).

Ἀκρίτης. A comparison of the two poems reveals a higher prevalence of presents in the epic than can be found in the chronicle, the former averaging one occurrence every four lines and the latter one occurrence every eight lines. Moreover, the functionality of the device of tense-switching, still characteristic of the epic, is much reduced in the chronicle. An exception may be found in a passage recounting a confrontation between Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin and the Byzantine Grand Domestic (vv.5478–576), where five presents are introduced both to mark the opening of the altercation, and to bring into the foreground the words and gestures themselves that are subsequently exchanged by captor and captive: 'ὁ πρίγκιπα Γυλιάμος | *ORIZEI* νὰ τοῦ φέρουσι ἐμπρὸς του τοὺς Ρωμαίους' (vv.5478–9); 'Τὸ ἔλθει τὸν ἐπροσηκώθηκεν, γλυκέα τὸν ἐχαιρέτα, | ἀπὸ τὸ χέρι τὸν *KRATEI*, σιμὰ του τὸν *KAΘIZEI*' (vv.5485–6); 'κ'ἐνταῦτα ἄρχισε νὰ λαλῇ, τοῦ Δεμεστίκου *ΛΕΓΕΙ*' (v.5488); 'Ἄρχισε πάλιν νὰ λαλῇ Δεμέστικος ὁ Μέγας | καὶ *ΛΕΓΕΙ* πρὸς τὸν πρίγκιπα ἀπόκρισιν ἐτέτοιαν' (vv.5513–14).[29] Even here, however, much of the task of sequencing the narrative has been transferred from verbal forms to adverbs of time ('ἐνταῦτα', vv.5482, 5488; 'μετὰ ταῦτα', v.5487; 'ἀπαύτου', v.5576).[30]

For the most part, tense-switching tends to occupy in H the position of a fossilized relic whose continued use is due simply to the requirements of tradition. It is thus often confined to automatic imports from an oral style. We find it appearing in battle clichés such as 'εὐθέως γοργὸ *ARMATΩNONTAI* πεζοὶ καὶ καβαλλάροι' (v.633) and 'Καὶ οἱ Φράγκοι ἐμεταστάθησαν, *ΣΤΡΕΦΟΝΤΑΙ* εἰς τοὺς Ρωμαίους' (v.5382).[31] It also crops up in a few other semantic areas. For instance, some verbs of movement of a general nature get put into the present (e.g. '*ΣΥΝΑΠΑΝΤΑΤΑΙ*', v.5252; '*ANEBAZOYN*', v.5445; '*YΠΑΕΙ*', v.5357 and '*YΠΑΓΑΙΝΟΥΝ*', v.5083),[32] as do verbs referring to acts of horsemanship, such as mounting and dismounting (e.g. '*ΠΗΔΟΥΝ, KABAΛΛΙΚΕΥΟΥΝ*', v.5313; '*ΠΕΖΕΥΓΕΙ* ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλογον', v.2492; '*ΠΕΖΕΥΓΕΙ*, ἐμετασέλλησέ', v.5066).[33] Above all, presents occur in the form of verbs of saying (e.g. 'κι ἀπέκει *KRAZEI* δύο

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[29] 'Prince Guillaume | COMMANDS that the Romans [Byzantines] be brought before him'; 'When he had arrived, [Guillaume] rose to meet him, and sweetly greeted him | he HOLDS him by the hand, and SITS him next to him'; 'And then he began to speak and SAYS to the Domestic'; 'Upon which the Grand Domestic began to speak in turn, | and UTTERS the following reply to the Prince'.

[30] 'thereupon', 'after which', 'upon which'.

[31] 'immediately foot-soldiers and cavalry ARM themselves'; 'the Franks rallied and TURN upon the Romans [i.e. Byzantines]'.

[32] 'he IS MET'; 'they LEAD him up'; 'he GOES' and 'they GO'.

[33] 'They LEAP [into the saddle], and MOUNT'; 'He DISMOUNTS from his horse'; 'He DISMOUNTS, and changed horse'.

ἄρχοντες᾿, v.677; *OPIZEI κ᾿ἦλθαν οἱ ἀρχηγοί*, v.4975; ῾*τιμητικὰ τοὺς XAIPETAι*᾿, v.5258; ῾καὶ *ΣYMBOYΛEYOYNE τον*᾿, v.2501; ῾καὶ *ΛEΓEI πρὸς τοὺς Τούρκους*᾿, v.5439; ῾<*Π*>*APAKAΛEI KI AΞIΩNEI τον*᾿, v.2546; ῾ἐλεημοσύνην τοῦ *ZHTOYN*᾿, v.5471).[34] Of these examples, a significant number concern set half-lines or formulae which recur repeatedly both in the Greek *Chronicle of Morea* and in other vernacular verse-narratives of the period.[35] Thus, the phrase ῾*ΠΗΔOYN, KABAΛΛIKEYOYN*᾿ and its variant ῾*ΠΗΔAι, KABAΛΛIKEYEI*᾿ are not only featured six times in H, but are attested in Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρώνα (e.g. v.101), Φλώριος καὶ Πλάτζια-Φλώρα (e.g. v.537), and the Naples *Achilleid* (e.g. v.134).[36] From this, it can be concluded that tense-switching in H should be interpreted as an occasional stylistic nod to a method of composition that has largely lost its usefulness. We are dealing with a convention.

THE EVOLUTION OF NARRATIVE TENSE

If to use tense-switching in a written text was to have recourse to one of the distinctive markers of orality, a difference can be seen in the intensity of that usage in specific genres. This applies equally to Greek and to French literature, as is demonstrated by a study of the relative frequency of verbs in the main narrative tenses within a corpus of texts drawn from both languages.[37] A examination of Greek vernacular writing allows us to contrast the high incidence of the present within epic, with lower figures found in verse-chronicles and, more especially, prose historiography. Thus, the Escorial

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[34] 'and thereupon he SUMMONS two *archondes*'; 'He ISSUES orders and the leaders came'; 'he GREETS them courteously'; 'and they ADVISE him'; 'and he SAYS to the Turks'; 'he ASKS and BEGS him'; 'He PLEADS for mercy'.

[35] 'They LEAP [into the saddle], and MOUNT'; 'He LEAPS [into the saddle], and MOUNTS'. For the issue of formulaic language in the Greek *Chronicle of Morea*, see M. Jeffreys (1973, repr. 1983) II.

[36] ῾Φλώριος καὶ Πλάτζια-Φλώρα᾿ and Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρώνα᾿, Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα, ed. Kriaras (1959) 131–96 and 197–249; *The Byzantine Achilleid*, ed. Smith (1999). It should be noted that the Escorial version of Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης has ῾*ΠΗΔAι κ᾿ἐκαβαλίκευσε*᾿ (e.g. v.1440) and ῾*ΠΗΔΩ κ᾿ἐκαβαλίκευσα*᾿ (e.g. v.1555).

[37] The incidence of the 'present' tenses (present proper in the Greek examples, and present proper and perfect in the French) is compared to that of verbs in the 'historical' tenses (aorist, imperfect, pluperfect, and perfect in the Greek, and past anterior, preterite, pluperfect, and imperfect in the French). For the sake of clarity, the rare pluperfect forms have been reduced to the imperfect when discussing texts in either of the languages, while the past anterior in French has been reduced to the preterite, and, for reasons already explained in n.4, the perfect in Greek to the aorist.

version of Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης attains 27.2 per cent present, while the *Chronicle of Tocco* has 12.9 per cent, and the *Recital of the Sweet Land of Cyprus* by Machairas only 2.7 per cent.[38] An even stronger pattern emerges in French, where more material is available for analysis. In *chanson de geste*, the present can be shown to be prominent, with percentages of 64.5 per cent and 39.7 per cent being recorded for the Oxford *Chanson de Roland* and for the *Chanson de Guillaume* respectively.[39] In historiography, usage of the tense declines—less so in the case of verse, more dramatically in prose. Thus, a reduced but still significant percentage is found in the *Mireur des Histors* of Jean d'Outremeuse (29.6%),[40] while Villehardouin contains far fewer examples (3.2%) and an almost total absence characterizes Joinville, Froissart, and Commynes.[41]

The variation from genre to genre may also represent, to some extent, a chronological progression. If so, however, the process of change was a complex one in both French and Greek. For that matter, it did not occur at exactly the same rate in the two languages. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the majority of French texts looked forward to 'modern' tense relationships by displaying a preference for the preterite and imperfect, a minority continued to employ rather dated techniques.[42] During the same period, Greek texts were even more conservative, with only the odd example breaking away from the habit of using the 'epic present'.[43] The two literatures were at different stages of development.[44]

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[38] To be more exact, an analysis of Βασίλειος Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης, ed. Alexiou (1985) reveals 27.2% present, 56% aorist, and 16% imperfect, of the *Chronicle of Tocco*, ed. Schirò (1975) 12.9% present, 64.6% aorist, and 22.4% imperfect, and of Leontios Machairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, ed. Dawkins, vol. 1 (1932) 2.7% present, 78.7% aorist, and 18.5% imperfect.

[39] The full statistics, based on Blanc (1964) 100–1 and (1965) 567, and Pickens (1979) 170–1, are 64.5% present, 13% perfect, 22% preterite, and 22% imperfect for the *Chanson de Roland*, together with 39.7% present, 12.7% perfect, 43.2% preterite, and 4.4% imperfect for the *Chanson de Guillaume.*

[40] See Martin (1971) 378.

[41] The statistics for Villehardouin are 3.2% present, 2.1% perfect, 67.5% preterite, and 27.2% imperfect; for Joinville, 0% present, 2.1% perfect, 61.6% preterite, and 36.3% imperfect; for Froissart, 0% present, 3.9% perfect, 58.5% preterite, and 37.6% imperfect; for Commynes, 0% present, 6.3% perfect, 41.9% preterite, and 48.3% imperfect. These figures are based on analyses by Beer (1970) 275 and Martin (1971) 348, 351, 377.

[42] In medieval French literature one can trace a general gradual decline of the 'epic present', with such presents constituting 64.5% of the total tenses in narrative at the end of the eleventh century, 30.05% at beginning of the fourteenth, 2.24% at the end of the fourteenth, and 0.84% at the end of the fifteenth. However, there are texts which constitute exceptions. For details, see Martin (1971) 350, 378.

[43] Apart from epic and verse-chronicles, romances in the Medieval Greek vernacular also utilize tense-switching. For Καλλίμαχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη, see the brief comments in Apostolopoulos (1984) 91.

[44] That we are dealing with parallel but independent systems of tense-usage in these literatures is confirmed by the fact that the composite Greek perfect (ἔχω+aorist infinitive),

Within the general trends of their respective languages, both versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* can be located with some precision. There is complete agreement between patterns of tense usage in B and those adopted by Middle French prose-chroniclers. The rejection of the present and perfect (0%), together with the converse reliance on the imperfect and preterite, not only link B to works such as the anonymous *Chronique des Valois* and *Chronique de Loys de Bourbon*, or the attributed historical writings of Jean le Bel, Nicolas de Baye, Clément de Fauquembergue, Georges Chastellain, Philippe de Commynes, and Jean Molinet, but serve to dissociate it from the efforts of versifiers such as Geoffroy de Paris, Guillaume Guillart, and Jean d'Outremeuse.[45] Conversely, H can be shown to display the characteristics typical of late-medieval Greek verse-chronicles. With a level of presents reaching 10.9 per cent, H is closer to the *Tocco* than it is to the prose *Recital of Cyprus*.[46]

Thus, findings concerning other aspects of the two versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* which are under discussion are here confirmed and extended. An examination of the function of the device of tense-switching in Greek vernacular literature requires us to postulate the existence of a medieval world of songs and storytelling that is now lost to us because it was never written down. Within the textual tradition that has survived, the 'epic present' retained its utility in cases where the heroic style continued to be employed, as is demonstrated by the Escorial manuscript of the poem Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης, but in other genres it declined into a rarely used form of literary archaism. It all but disappeared with the change from verse to prose. An equivalent trend of gradual marginalization of the device can be observed if one analyses French literary production. Within the context of this evolution away from traditions of oral composition, performance, and reception, it would appear that neither version of the *Chronicle of Morea* was an anomaly, but, on the contrary, that both conformed fully to contemporary developments in historiography in their respective languages.

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although thought to have been introduced into spoken Greek under the influence of Romance languages during the Frankish occupation, does not appear in vernacular Greek poetry in the period. See Horrocks (1997) 273–4.

[45] More precisely, B contains 0% present and perfect and 53.6% preterite and 46.1% imperfect.

[46] The statistics for H are 10.9% present, 71% aorist, and 17.4% imperfect.

Conclusion to Part Two

A comparison of the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* has revealed these versions to differ from each other in a number of aspects of narrative technique. Greek H can be shown to favour direct discourse, free direct discourse, and free indirect discourse for the representation of speech acts, to employ tense-switching, and, by means of frequent interventions in the narrative involving the first and second grammatical persons, to insist upon the delineation of a fictional communicative situation. For its part, French B appears to prefer indirect and narrativized discourse, to make exclusive use of 'historical' tenses, and to deploy a prominent impersonal narrating instance that is less preoccupied with communicating than with structuring the narrative. Everything about the Greek version suggests that it is a text which has been highly influenced by methods of composition derived from the pragmatic concerns of oral performance and reception. Such oral residue as exists in the French version, by contrast, is of a far more restricted nature. Each of the versions makes sense on its own terms, within its own tradition. H and B conform to the patterns found in other contemporary or near-contemporary texts in their respective vernaculars. Similarities with historiographical works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are especially close. In turn, this sheds light on the cultural climate of the Principality of Morea. There appears to have been an equal awareness in the Peloponnese both of the recent breakthroughs that had occurred in north-western Europe, and of the potential of the tradition native to the eastern Mediterranean. The Principality of Morea thus emerges as a centre of innovation and experimentalism.

Some indication of the manner in which the stylistic characteristics of each of the two versions relate to that of the common ancestor can be gained if one examines the programmatic statements belonging to the versions. The Greek version begins by announcing that its intention is to recite an 'ἀφήγησιν μεγάλην', a great or lengthy tale, and asks its addressee to lend an ear and listen, promising that the experience will be a pleasing one (P vv.1–2). In its opening paragraph, the French version appears to react against this, for it not only explicitly refers to itself as an attempt to revise a pre-existing 'longue

histoire', but proceeds to include further explanatory comments which suggest that the aim of the changes made was to gratify those who are easily bored if they have to listen ('auir') to a tale organized according to the precepts ('ordonnéement faite et devisee') of the old, oral style. It would thus seem that B reflects the aesthetic preoccupations of a *remanieur* who has sought to rework and update the text to which he had access, preserving only those elements of orality whose integrity to the structure meant that they could not easily be expunged. If this is correct, then the intentions of the common ancestor are more faithfully reflected in H than in B. That common ancestor would have been a text in which a range of techniques associated with orality were deployed, in many instances in extensive form. Orality here, of course, should not be understood primarily in terms of the physical circumstances of composition, but rather in terms of reference to a literary tradition. As Franz Bäuml has admitted concerning the traces of orality in medieval texts, '[t]he fact that these attributes have become stylistic characteristics of written texts, that they have been converted into stylistic attributes by their writtenness, is incontrovertible'.[1] Yet, if no longer essential tools for composition, a proportion of the inherited techniques would still have continued to facilitate the retention, and therefore the reception of the narrative in an environment where public readings of one sort or another were a regular occurrence,[2] and manuscripts were read aloud or *sotto voce* even when the reader was alone. As late as 1570, one of the last Inca Emperors, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, relating the story of his life, described the Spanish conquistadors as bearded men who talked to themselves when holding sheets of white material in their hands. Exceptions to this habit provoked astonishment: the young Augustine observed with wonder the ability of Saint Ambrosius to read using only his eyes.[3] As Ong argues, in a manuscript culture, such as existed in the Middle Ages, 'books were subtly assimilated more to oral utterance and less to the world of physical objects than they are in a [. . .] print culture.'[4]

The repercussions of this hypothesis concerning the importance of a discourse inherited from orality to the common ancestor are far-reaching. The Greek version of the *Chronicle* is ostensibly more subjective, the French more objective. However, the soberness and relative infrequency in the French version of exclamations and other narrative interventions with a communicative function should not have attributed to them more consequence than is deserved. Within B, individual points of view and ideological biases persist, as

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[1] Bäuml (1984) 42.
[2] Zumthor (1987) 42–3; also Walker (1971) 36–42.
[3] For these and other examples, see Zumthor (1987) 115–21.
[4] Ong (1984) 1.

is only natural, but they are masked by the use of an impersonal voice that claimed to convey an unproblematic representation of events. We should not forget we are dealing with a text produced in the wake of a debate that had unfolded during the course of the thirteenth century in francophone circles regarding the appropriate literary vehicle to be used for historiography. The accusation that verse constituted a form of embellishment which fostered 'lies' was one that had increasingly come to be linked with an insistence upon the transparent and sincere nature of an alternative medium, that of prose. Actual recourse to prose, however, constituted by-and-large a ploy encouraging the acceptance of unverifiable assertions. Indeed, the versions of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* produced at the turn of the twelfth century, which were the very first writings in French to associate prose with the notion of veracity, can be shown to be outrageous forgeries that reworked epic and religious material, attributing the resulting concoction to the Archbishop Turpin, reports of whose death at Roncesvalles during the campaign of Charlemagne were claimed to be exaggerated. It was brazenly maintained that Turpin had survived and returned to Vienne in France, where he wrote his own eyewitness report as he 'lay ill from the wounds he had received in Spain'.[5] Texts such as the *Pseudo-Turpin* and its numerous imitations were less concerned with the pursuit of objective reality as such, than with attempting to create the illusion of that reality.[6] Given this, the language of factuality characterizing the French version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, although surrounding the narrative with an aura of credibility, is best understood as belonging to a strategy of persuasion. The tone employed should be seen for what it actually is—nothing more or less than a stylistic choice.

Insight has been gained with regard both to the resources available for redaction of the two oldest versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*, and to the manner in which these resources were exploited. In addition, the stylistic attributes of the common ancestor have come more clearly into focus. We now turn to an analysis of the ideological pressures which can be identified as

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[5] 'la ou il gisoyt maladies dé playes ke il resut en Espayne', *The Anglo-Norman Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle of William de Briane*, ed. Short (1973) 31. In this instance, the French texts were based upon a Latin original, and it could therefore be argued that, like the rest of their contemporaries, the translators had simply been duped. Such an excuse, however, is not so easily extended to another precocious work of prose historiography in French, the *Conquête de Constantinople* of Geoffroy de Villehardouin. There, protestations of the authority residing in the text serve only to guarantee controversial statements regarding the Fourth Crusade. Thus, for example, the role of the third-person author as an eyewitness is referred to in order to confirm the veracity of hearsay evidence, from an unidentified group, that they had seen a miracle indicating God's favour to the Venetians (§174). See Spiegel (1984) 271, Damian-Grint (1996) 71–2, and Beer (1981) 35–46.

[6] Spiegel (1984) 272 and (1987) 142; Damian-Grint (1999) 199.

having been at work and contributed to the shaping of the narrative. Given that the *Chronicle* was produced during a period of occupation, it would seem appropriate to pay particular attention to the fundamental issue of the textual representation of social identity. The role played by religion, ethnicity, and proto-nationalism in the different versions' accounts of relations between conquerors and conquered requires discussion.

Part III

Ideology: Conquerors and Conquered

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Introduction to Part Three

The ideological position encoded in the *Chronicle of Morea* has been profoundly affected by the intricacies of the work's transmission. The accidental and deliberate loss of folia, together with an extensive programme of rewriting carried out by translators, redactors, and scribes, have resulted in considerable variations in emphasis from manuscript to manuscript. An examination of the treatment by the different versions of the *Chronicle* of a specific episode, that of the battle of Prinitsa, may serve to illustrate this point. Occurring *c*.1262–3, during the first Palaeologan campaign in the Peloponnese, the battle in question led to a victory over the Byzantine army by the defenders of the Principality of Morea. The Greek version of the *Chronicle* dwells upon the episode at length (vv.4678–881), but its two oldest manuscripts can be shown to offer interpretations that are mutually contradictory. Thus, whereas H displays a fierce pride in the achievement of the knights of the Principality together with a marked hatred and contempt for the Byzantines, in contrast, manuscript P glosses over the routing of the imperial troops, seeking to present the defeat of the imperial Grand Domestic in as positive a light as possible. In P, a number of passages which the redactor appears to have found distasteful were eliminated or rephrased. Thus, no equivalent to the reference to the toppling of the imperial standard present in H ('κι ἀπέδειραν κ'ἐρρίξασιν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ σκῆπτρον', v.4839) can be found in P, while a more innocuous phrase has replaced references to the abandonment by the Grand Domestic of his men and to the panic which consequently broke out ('ὅλοι ἐβάλθηκαν εὐτὺς νὰ ὑπᾶνε στὰ δικὰ τους', P v.4840; 'ὅλοι ἀποκεφαλίστησαν, ἐβάλθησαν νὰ φεύγουν | ὁ εἷς τὸν ἄλλον οὐκ ἔβλεπεν τὸ πόθεν ὑπαγαίνει', H vv.4840–1).[1] Other lines implying extensive Byzantine losses ('Οἱ Φράγκοι ἀποστάθησαν σφάζοντα τοὺς Ρωμαίους', H v.4843 and 'Οἱ Φράγκοι ἀποστάθησαν σκοτώνων τοὺς ἐχτρούς τους', H v.4851) have been expunged or reworded ('κ'οἱ Φράγκοι ἀπεστάθησαν ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ τοῦ κόπου', P v.4851).[2] Finally, the explicit statement that the

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[1] 'they tore down the Emperor's standard'; 'they all set off home'; 'they all lost their leader and began to flee | none of them paying attention to where anyone else was going'.

[2] 'The Franks had had their fill of slaughtering Romans'; 'The Franks had had their fill of slaughtering their enemies'; toned down to: 'and the Franks were tired from their hard work'.

Byzantines came very near to a total massacre (῾Ἐκεῖ ἐγλύτωσαν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, ὅσοι ἐδράμαν κ᾿ἐμπῆκαν· | ἐπεί, ἂν ἔλειπαν οἱ σκληροὶ οἱ τόποι ὅπου σᾶς λέγω, | λογίζομαι εἰς πληροφορίαν ἕνας μόνος ἀπ᾿ αὐτους | οὐ μὴ νὰ ἐγλύτωσε ἀπ᾿ἐκεῖ, | ἂν εἴχασιν οἱ Φράγκοι | τὴν δύναμιν νὰ ἐσφάζασιν τὸ γένος τὼν Ρωμαίων᾿, H vv.4846–50) has been deleted, and the immediately preceding line rewritten so that it has become a statement to the effect that the whole Byzantine army survived intact and able to fight another day (᾿ἐκεῖ ἐγλύσαν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ ὅλον τὸ φουσσᾶτον᾿, P v.4846).[3]

The French, Italian, and Aragonese versions, for their part, contain either no information or heavily summarized information regarding this episode. Ital. simply jumps from an account of the advance of the imperial army to an anecdote concerning Geoffroy de Briel, absent at that time in Apulia (p.499). B, which has a lacuna equivalent to the whole of the narrative of the battle, indicates that material was unavailable and leaves space for the omission to be rectified, guessing at the content of the lost episode from information provided by the previous passage ('Cy endroit fault bien .vj. feuilles, la ou parole du revel de l'Escorta, qui contre le prince Guillerme fu, et se rendirent au frere de l'empereur, au grant dommestico. Si ay leissié le espace', p.128).[4] Finally, Arag., although containing the entire episode, offers rather reduced coverage of it, referring only to the most salient points (§§351–7). Textual idiosyncrasies of this type mean that each individual exemplar of the *Chronicle* may be said to convey a message which, in some respects, can be identified as unique to it.

The study of the *Chronicle of Morea* is thus inseparable from a consideration of the ideologies that underlie the different manuscript versions. Each exemplar of the work is a product of its own context, and reshapes the text and perspective of the original *Chronicle* so as to achieve its own ends. In the chapters that follow, the evidence provided by H is given particular weight, but a comparison with B, as well as with the other principal manuscripts (Arag., Ital., and P) is also carried out. Initially, ethno-religious concerns are examined. Following on from this, the issue of the creation in the Morea of a national history is addressed. Finally, the analysis is extended in scope so as to include a consideration of the external pressures which resulted in the emergence in this period of a new literary form, Greek vernacular historiography,

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[3] 'As many of the Romans [i.e. the Byzantines] as managed to rush and enter there found refuge; | and, had these impassable places not existed | I think that it would be accurate to say that not a single one of them | would have escaped, had it been possible for the Franks | to [get near to them and] slaughter the entire race of the Romans'; rewritten as: 'The Romans [i.e. Byzantines] escaped there together with the whole army'.

[4] 'Here six folios are missing, which told of the inhabitants of Escorta, who rebelled against Prince Guillaume and took the side of the brother of the emperor, the Grand Domestic. Therefore, I have left this space'.

within the territories of the eastern Mediterranean under western occupation. Attention is drawn to the role of something akin to propaganda during this period. Only then does it become possible to explore both the original *Chronicle* and that work's subsequent transformations against the backdrop of a constantly changing social and political environment.

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Greeks and Latins: Ethno-Religious Identity

According to the *Chronicle of Morea*, the knights who settled in the Morea with the initial conquest and their descendants continued to identify closely with other westerners. Both in B (§182) and in H (vv.2550–3), Prince Geoffroy II de Villehardouin justifies his marriage to the daughter of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople by pointing out to his father-in-law, who opposed the match, that the two parties were not only of equal social standing, but also of French ancestry. Guillaume II de Villehardouin, although himself born and raised in Greece, is said to have been overjoyed at the conquest of the Kingdom of Sicily by Charles I d'Anjou, brother to the French king, because it meant that another ruler of the same race would govern territory neighbouring that of the Principality (H vv.6265–71 and B §441). This sense of solidarity with the West, and especially with the nobility of France, is associated in the *Chronicle* with the status of the conquerors and settlers as foreigners in the Aegean world. Thus, in B, the future Geoffroy I de Villehardouin prefaces his advisory speech to Guillaume I de Champlitte regarding the conquest of the Peloponnese with a remark reminding his lord that he has entered an alien environment, far from both the friends and the enemies to whom he had previously been accustomed (§108). In H, Guillaume II de Villehardouin addresses the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus in a manner which draws attention to a lack of familiarity with Greek customs and with the Byzantine court in particular (vv.4256–65). Indeed, Guillaume refers to himself as an untutored foreigner ('«ἄνθρωπος ξενωτικὸς κι ἀπαίδευτος»', v.4257) and goes so far as to acknowledge that France was in fact the natural homeland of both himself and his companions ('«τὴν Φραγκίαν ὅπου ἔν' τὸ ἰγονικόν μας»', v.4263).[1]

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[1] Further confirmation that Frankish settlement in the eastern Mediterranean was an intrusion is provided by the *Chronicle* in the form of a pair of speeches attributed to Byzantine rulers. In these speeches, the lack of legitimacy of the Frankish Principality of Morea is emphatically contrasted to the entitlement of the Villehardouin and their companions to lands in France. Thus, in H, the Sevastokrator of Neopatras declares that the Peloponnese is the emperor's birthright, warning Prince Guillaume to abandon his unlawful occupation of the region (vv.4125–6) and go back to France where he belongs: ('«ἄγωμε εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν | ὅπου ἔνι

To offer an interpretation of the ideological position of the *Chronicle of Morea* based upon these passages alone would, however, be to misrepresent the intricacies of relations between conquerors and conquered as these appear in the work. The *Chronicle* defines identity in a variety of ways. In examining the construction of ethno-religious markers, the aim of this chapter is not only to determine the importance to the work of the categories of 'Greek' and 'Latin', but to shed light on the precise function of these categories. The image which H and B offer of Greekness needs to be analysed in some detail, paying attention both to the contexts in which that image occurs in earlier historiography, and to the specifics of its employment in the *Chronicle* itself.

'US' AND 'THEM'

The two oldest versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* agree in presenting Latin and Greek identity in terms of a polarization. Despite considerable differences with regard to the precise ethnonyms used (where the one text refers to 'Φράγκοι' and 'Ρωμαίοι', the other speaks of 'li Françoys' or 'li Latins' and 'li Grex'),[2] both versions indicate ideological allegiance by means of possessive

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ἐκεῖ τὸ φυσικὸν τὸ ἰγονικὸν ὅπου ἔχεις»' | ' "go back to France | where your natural patrimony is to be found" ', vv.4127–8). In B, it is the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus himself who insists upon his claims to the Peloponnese ('«le pays est miens et vous n'y avés nulle raison»' | ' "the land is mine and you have no right to it" ') and offers Guillaume an incentive to return to his country ('«vous donray tant de mon tresor que vous porrés raler en vostre pays, en France, et acheter [. . .] de bonnes terres»' | ' "I will give you such treasure that you will be able to return home, to France, and buy [. . .] good lands" ', §313).

[2] These words carry a range of connotations which rendered them potentially ambiguous as ethnonyms. In H, 'Φράγκος' can have several meanings. It can be used as a generic term, signifying all westerners (v.4054) or all Christians adhering to the Latin rite (v.767). Its foremost meaning, however, has to do with the fact that H recognizes the existence of the Capetian Kingdom of France as a geo-political entity. Distinguishing 'τὸ ῥηγᾶτο τῆς Φραγκίας' ('the Kingdom of France', v.115) from 'τὴν Ἀγ<λ>ητέρ<αν> καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἕτερα τῆς Δύσεως τὰ ρη<γᾶτα>' ('England and the other kingdoms of the West', vv.115–16), H defines the territory of the former as lying beyond the Alps (vv.252–3) and extending as far as Champagne and Flanders (vv.1108, 1901, 3048, 8113, 8952), identifying in this process boundaries which correspond to those developed under Philippe-Auguste and his successors as a consequence of the expansion of the royal domain and, following the battle of Bouvines in 1214, the acquisition of a number of appendages by the French crown. In keeping with its understanding of 'Φραγκία', H tends to designate only Frenchmen as 'Φράγκοι', excluding the Germans of the Holy Roman Empire (v.7050), the Provençals (v.397), the Venetians (vv.530–1), and the Lombards (vv.851, 252–3) from that status. For its part, 'Ρωμαῖος' is the name applied by H to designate a citizen of Constantinople (v.797), as well as, by extension, a native inhabitant of the former or actual territories of the Byzantine Empire (v.841), and even any Christian who was Greek Orthodox (v.2094). H derives the latter meanings from its understanding of 'Ρωμανία' in

phrases in the first-person plural. In B, the narrative is punctuated with references to 'nos Françoys' ('our Frenchmen') and, especially, 'nostre gent' ('our people' or 'our men'),[3] while an equivalent usage of '$\tau\grave{o}\nu$ $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\nu$ $\mu\alpha\varsigma$' ('our people'), '$\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\widetilde{\iota}\varsigma$' ('we'), or '$\mu\alpha\varsigma$' ('us', 'our') is attested in H, although rarer there.[4] Accompanying this designation of the Latins as 'us' is an understanding of the Greeks as 'them'. This fundamental opposition is shown by the *Chronicle* to rest upon a number of other, more limited, antithetical pairings. Latin and Greek ethnicities are defined in H and B in terms of contrasts in physical appearance, character, religion, language, and culture.[5] Not all of these characteristics are treated in the same manner. The colour of a person's complexion, for example, is acknowledged as a factor of ethnic identity, but not given particular prominence.[6] The same is true of differences in

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a purely geographic sense, using it to indicate all the lands that had belonged to the Byzantines before the Latin conquest (v.841). Further nuances include etymologizing ('$\grave{\alpha}\pi\grave{o}$ $\tau\grave{\eta}\nu$ $P\acute{\omega}\mu\eta$ $\grave{\alpha}\pi\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ $\tau\grave{o}$ $\check{o}\nu o\mu\alpha$ $\tau\widetilde{\omega}\nu$ $P\omega\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$' | 'from Rome they took the name of Romans', v.797), and the establishment of a chronological distinction between '$P\omega\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}o\varsigma$' and '$\H{E}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu$' ('$\delta\iota\alpha\beta\acute{o}\nu\tau\alpha$ $\gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho$ $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu o\iota$ $\pi o\lambda\lambda o\grave{\iota}$ $\alpha\grave{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\widetilde{\iota}\nu o\iota$ $o\acute{\iota}$ $P\omega\mu\alpha\widetilde{\iota}o\iota$ | $\H{E}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\grave{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu$ $\tau\grave{o}$ $\check{o}\nu o\mu\alpha$, $o\H{\upsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\tau o\grave{\upsilon}\varsigma$ $\grave{\omega}\nu o\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\alpha\nu$', 'many years ago, these Romans | had the name of Hellenes, and that was what they were called', vv.794–5). Rarely found, '$\H{E}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu$' in H refers exclusively to the Ancient Greeks (vv.795, 1557, 1774). Turning now to B, there one sees a transition from expressions referring to Frenchmen (§§15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 37, 38, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 69, 110, 315, 321, 332, 350, 354, 466, 641, 979) to those referring to Latins (§§77, 199, 387, 466, 595, 668, 685, 721, 805, 810, 898, 927, 929, 943). The substitution of one form with the other appears deliberate. It occurs at a point in the narrative that broadly corresponds to the greater involvement of the Regno or Kingdom of Naples in the affairs of the Morea, and thus indicates a desire to have recourse to a term that could also include Italians. For the native inhabitants of 'Romanie', B uses 'li Grec', describing the Greeks of the Peloponnese as 'les Grex dou pays' ('the Greeks of the land', §91) and the Nicenes as 'li Grec dou Levant' ('the Greeks of the Levant', §77). The term 'Griffon', derived from 'griffin' but since the First Crusade traditionally used for Greeks, is entirely absent other than in the toponym 'Mathegriphon', which means 'Kill Greek' (§219). For the relevant ethnonyms and their significance in the context of the political developments of the late medieval period, see Wolff (1948, repr. 1976) II, 2, 7–8, Chrestos (1993) 85–145, Potter (2003) 3, Dunbabin (2003) 23–9.

[3] See §§25, 354 for the former and, for the latter, §§4, 24, 46, 52, 53, 54, 55, 69, 71, 76, 77, 80, 101, 106, 133, 280, 281, 304, 341, 342, 361, 369, 372, 466, 467, 468, 485, 632, 634, 635, 765, 939, 941, 945, 946, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 989, 991, 993, 994.

[4] See vv.635–7, 4379–84, 6687–91. It should be noted, however, that the first of these passages could be direct discourse that has been misidentified in the printed edition, while the remaining two begin in indirect discourse but may then switch to direct discourse. Thus, the possessive should perhaps be attributed to the character speaking in each case rather than to the narratorial voice.

[5] For the variables in the 'boundary markers' of ethnic identity, see Hutchinson and Smith (1996) 9, Isajiw (1974) *passim*, Cashmore (1996) 119–25.

[6] A single passage, occurring only in B (H has been cut short before this point in the narrative), tells of a case of mistaken identity in which '.j. gentil homme grec que on appelloit Foty' ('a Greek nobleman who was called Photis', §664) killed one knight instead of another because of his blond hair and fair skin (§676).

ceremonial practices and in nomenclature.[7] For the most part, however, the *Chronicle* interprets the boundary between Latins and Greeks by having recourse to two ethnic stereotypes, one of which is highly favourable, while the other is highly unfavourable. Thus, by means of a series of explicit or implicit appraisals, the *Chronicle* repeatedly contrasts the moral rectitude of the Latins with the degeneracy of the Greeks, emphasizing the manner in which Greekness deviates from the ideals to which the narrative subscribes.

THE PERFIDY OF THE GREEKS

The anti-Graecism of the *Chronicle of Morea* draws upon a historiographical tradition for which there is some evidence already in tenth-century western texts, but which can be shown to have developed markedly in both Latin and the vernacular with the Crusades.[8] Of the chronicles of the First Crusade, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, a work widely disseminated in the West where it was plagiarized by other writers, is violently anti-Greek in its sentiment. 'Malicious' ('iniquus', p.6), 'wretched' ('infelix', p.10) and 'most wicked' ('nequissimus', p.12) are the adjectives which the *Gesta* applies to the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, while Taticius, the Byzantine general and military advisor to the crusaders, is referred to as 'our enemy' ('inimicus', p.34).[9] A similar stance is found in Raymond d'Aguilers who, writing *c*.1102, always speaks ill of Alexius I (pp.18, 21, 22, 26).[10] Ekkehard of Aura, whose *Hierosolymita* dates to *c*.1115, also denounces the Comnenian Emperor, as does Albert of Aix, who highlights in addition a number of stories of atrocities committed more generally by the Greeks.[11] Even Fulcher of Chartres slips into invective in the latter part of his *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Peregrinantium*, completed before 1124/7 (II.xxxviii.3).[12] With the Second and Third Crusades, the same attitudes came to be expressed even more forcefully. Odo of Deuil repeatedly reviles the Emperor Manuel I and his representatives as

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[7] With regard to ceremonial, both H and B note the prostration or *proskynesis* performed by Byzantine subjects to their emperor and the 'Greek kisses' exchanged as a greeting between equals (H v.8884; B §877). Differences of nomenclature are referred to in H vv.1555, 2408, 7795–6 and 7993, as well as in B §§207, 336, and 802.

[8] The question of the perception of Byzantium in Western sources has been examined in Schmandt (1968), Ebels-Hoving (1990), and Ilieva (1995a, 1995b).

[9] *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Hill (1962).

[10] Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. H. Hill and L. Hill (1968).

[11] See Schmandt (1968) 287.

[12] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095–1127), ed. Hagenmeyer (1913).

traitors to Christianity (pp.10, 12, 14, 26, 40, 54, 56, 68, 72, 86, 90, 98, 106–8, 112, 128, 136, 140), calling out for vengeance for those who 'suffered the Greeks' evil deeds' ('nobis qui pertulimus Graecorum scelera...', p.98).[13] The anonymous *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* describes the Greeks as 'a perfidious race, a wicked generation, and utterly degenerate' ('Gens perfida, generatio nequam et omnino degenerans', p.292).[14]

Long before the fourteenth century, the association of perfidy with Greekness had thus become a well-worn convention in crusading narratives. The topos of the 'graeculus perfidus' is very much in evidence in the Moreot *Chronicle*.[15] Both H and B insist that the Greeks have always been untrustworthy and prone to deceitful behaviour ('εὑρίσκεται ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς τὸ γένος τῶν Ρωμαίων | εἰς δολιότητα πολλὴν κ' εἰς ἀπιστίες μεγάλες', H vv.593–4; 'qui tousjours ont esté malixieux et fausses gent', B §45).[16] With regard specifically to the events of 1204, the *Chronicle* accuses the Greeks of committing a terrible act of 'betrayal' ('ἀπιστίαν' or 'traïson') against the crusaders (H vv.615–28; B §§47–8), H even going so far as to call the counsellors of Alexius IV Angelus 'lawless traitors' ('ἄνομοι δημηγέρτες', v.657), 'cursed by God' ('θεοκατάρατοι', v.657), and, a few lines further on, 'infidels' ('πανάπιστους', v.674). Similar denunciations recur in later episodes of the *Chronicle*, such as that of the battle of Pelagonia. Here, in a speech attributed to Guillaume II de Villehardouin, Frankish mistrust and animosity are directed not against the Emperor and the Greeks of Constantinople, but against the Despot Michael of Epirus and his family, who had wooed the Prince as their ally only to abandon him on the battlefield (H vv.3966 and 3974–5; B §294).[17]

Such is the prominence of Greek perfidy in the *Chronicle* that descriptions are given of subsidiary negative traits inherited, together with the general

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[13]   Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V. G. Berry (1948).

[14]   *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. Mayer (1962); translated in *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. Nicholson (1997) 57.

[15]   See Cupane (1996) 117.

[16]   'the Roman people [i.e. Byzantines], from the beginning of time, has committed | much deceit and great treachery'; 'they have always been a wicked and untrustworthy people'.

[17]   «ἀπέργωσε με ὡσὰν παιδὶ καὶ ἤφερέν με ἐνταῦτα | [...] | [...] οὕτως μᾶς ἐπαράδωκεν [...] | ὡς ὁ Ἰούδας τὸν Χριστὸν ἐκεινῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων» ('he tricked me as if I were a child and brought me here [...] | [...] he surrendered us in this manner [...] | as Judas did Christ to the Jews»'); '«vous veés bien que nous sommes trahy' ('you see full well that we have been betrayed»'). Indeed, the reputation ascribed by H to the Greeks is such that this version feels impelled to explain that, on the occasion of a second alliance between Epirus and the Morea, the new Despot, Nicephorus, in order to guarantee his good faith, had to offer his son as a hostage to Prince Florent 'until the Prince goes back | and returns to the land of the Morea | together with his armies, without deceit and trickery' ('ἕως οὗ νὰ ποιήσῃ στρέμμα | ὁ πρίγκιπας, καὶ νὰ στραφῇ στὸν τόπον τοῦ Μορέως, | οὕτως μὲ τὰ φουσσᾶτα του, ἄνευ τρόπου καὶ δόλου', vv.8836–8).

topos, from crusading narratives. These traits are meant to constitute proof of the Greeks' treacherous disposition. Although present in both H and B, it is in H that the traits in question are more highly elaborated. The Greeks are depicted at great length in that version as perjurers with little respect for the bonds of fealty and kinship, as unchivalrous, cowardly, and guileful practitioners of warfare, and, above all, as heretics. In contrast, the Latins are shown to uphold the ideals rejected by the Greeks. Thus, according to H, the Latins attach great importance to oaths ('ἐπλήρωσαν τὸν ὅρκον τους καὶ τὴν ὑποσχεσίν τους' and '«Τοὺς Φράγκους γὰρ ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι κρατοῦν ἀλήθειαν . . .»', v.440 and v.5192) and view kinship as prohibiting enmity or warfare ('«. . . οὐδὲν μὲ ἐβλέπεις ὅτι ἔδραμα ἀπάνω εἰς συγγενῆν μου | [. . .] | ἀλλὰ ἔδραμα εἰς βασιλέαν, ὅπου [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] οὐδὲν μετέχω πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τίποτε συγγένειαν»', vv.4148–56).[18] They also possess a strong chivalric ethos, owing their fame as warriors not only to their custom of deliberately seeking out combat ('«τὸ σύνηθες ὅπου ἔχουσιν οἱ Φράγκοι | καὶ τρέχουν πάντα εἰς τὰ ἄρματα ἔνθα ἀκούσουν ὅτι ἔνι | ἢ χρεία, ἢ μάχη ἢ πόλεμοι, διατὸ εἶναι γὰρ στρατιῶτες»', vv.8952–4),[19] but to their preference for fighting honourably, face-to-face, as mounted knights wielding lances and swords ('«πολεμοῦν εἰς πρόσωπον»', v.6964; 'φαρία ἐκαβαλλικεῦαν, | ἄρματα εἴχασιν λαμπρὰ <ὡς> τὰ ἔχουσιν οἱ Φράγκοι', vv.1109–10; 'Οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ ἐλόγιασαν πόλεμον νὰ τοὺς ποιήσουν | μὲ τὰ κοντάρια καὶ σπαθιά, ὡς ἦσαν μαθημένοι', v.1150; '«Οἱ πάντες ὅλοι ἐξεύρουν το 'ς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, | εἰς τὸ κοντάρι καὶ σπαθὶ οἱ Φράγκοι εἶναι ἀντρειωμένοι»', vv.4912–13; '«Οἱ πάντες ὅλοι ἐξεύρουν το, ὡς ἔνι γὰρ κ'ἡ ἀλήθεια· | εἰς τὸ κοντάρι κ'εἰς σπαθὶ οἱ Φράγκοι εἶναι στρατιῶτες»', vv.5125–8).[20] Finally, they hold the true faith taught by the Apostles ('κρατοῦμε τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν νόμον, | καθὼς μᾶς τὸ ἐδιδάξασιν, ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἅγιοι ἀποστόλοι', vv.772–3).[21]

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[18] 'they fulfilled their oath and vow' and '"We have heard that the Franks keep faith"'; '". . . you do not see me making war upon a kinsman of mine | [. . .] | but I made war on an Emperor, with whom [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] I do not share any bond of kinship"'.

[19] '"the habit the Franks have | of running for their weapons whenever they hear there | is need or a battle or a war, because they are true soldiers"' see also v.1060.

[20] '"to fight face to face"'; see also v.1138; 'they were mounted upon chargers, | they had fine weapons in the Frankish manner'; 'The Franks expected to fight | with lances and swords, as they were accustomed to doing'; '"Everyone throughout the universe knows that | when it comes to wielding the lance and sword the Franks are warriors"'; '"Everyone knows, and it is true, | that, when it comes to wielding the lance and sword, the Franks are true soldiers"'; 'they made haste to seize their weapons and jump in the saddle, and ride forth'.

[21] '"we keep true to the faith and law of Christ, | as we were taught it by the Holy Apostles".'

Perjury

Twelfth-century Latin historians had already spoken of Greece as 'devious' ('callida'), 'deceitful' ('fraudulens'), or 'false' ('mendax'), and referred to Byzantine emperors as habitually committing perjury.[22] Similarly, eyewitness French accounts of the Fourth Crusade had insisted upon the 'treachery' ('caitiveté') of Alexius IV Angelus, whom they accused of breaking his word.[23] The same pattern is maintained in H, which declares that, unlike the Franks (v.440 and v.5192), or even non-Christian populations (vv.1249–50, 5729), the Greeks, from the time of the Comnenians (vv.82–3), have not kept true to a single oath that they have sworn ('*ἀλήθειαν οὐ κρατοῦσιν· | τὸν ὅρκον τους οὐδὲν κρατοῦν*', vv.802–3).[24] In particular, such conduct is connected by H with what it views to be contempt on the part of the Greeks for the hallowed nature of those oaths which bind individuals together in fealty or kinship. Early on in the Prologue, the revulsion of H at the murder by the Greeks of their 'rightful lord' ('*«φυσικὸν ἀφέντην»*'), Alexius IV, is first articulated in a speech attributed to the leaders of the Fourth Crusade (vv.820–2), and then reinforced by its later reiteration (vv.831–41) by 'the wisest crusaders' ('*οἱ φρονιμώτεροι*').[25] Similar disgust and dismay are also expressed with regard to the betrayal by the Despot 'Kalojan' of Epirus of his son-in-law Guillaume II de Villehardouin, the behaviour of the Despot being glossed with a statement to the effect that Greeks only contract a marriage alliance or assume the role of blood-brothers or godfathers in order to achieve a person's destruction (vv.3932–7).

Cowardice and Lack of Chivalry

In western historiography, a further recurring claim was that Greeks comported themselves in an unmanly and base manner when at war. The *Gesta Francorum*, for example, declares that Muslim domination of provinces of the Byzantine Empire represented the conquest of an 'effeminate people' ('effeminatis gentibus', p.67). Similarly, Odo of Deuil speaks of 'indolent Greeks' ('Graecorum inertium', p.98) who have put aside their virility and degenerated 'entirely into women' ('et tunc Graeci penitus frangebantur in feminas', p.56), while the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* refers to an 'unwarlike' nature whose military skill depends on 'artifice, not arms' ('illi se prorsus inscios et

[22] Ebels-Hoving (1990) 27.

[23] Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Lauer (1924) §59; Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, vol. 2 (1961) §§210–13.

[24] '"they are never true, | they never keep their oath" .' See also: H v.728; v.1248; v.7133; vv.7156–7; vv.7185–6.

[25] See also: H vv.1245–62.

imbelles conspiciunt' and 'si Greci milicia queritur, arte non armis dimicat',
pp.292–3). Particularly representative is Walter Map's statement in *De Nugis
Curialium*, which refers to the Greeks as 'soft and effeminate, wily and
loquacious, devious toward their enemies and cowardly' ('Grecos molles et
femineos, loquaces et dolosos, nulliusque contra hostes fidei uel uirtutis',
p.174).[26] In keeping with this tradition, H insists that the military prowess
of the Greeks is confined merely to belligerent words. According to H, the
boasts or *gabs* of the Greeks ('ὅλα ἦσαν λόγια εὔκαιρα, καύχημα τῶν Ῥωμαίων |
ὅπου ἐπαινοῦνται ὁλοστινοὶ καὶ ψέγουν τοὺς ἐχτρούς τους', vv.3836–7) tend to
be offset by cowardly deeds.[27] In the account of the battle of Prinitsa, for
instance, the bragging of an imperial general that his troops will have the
Franks 'for breakfast' ('«προγεματίτσιν γὰρ μικρὸν ἐβλέπω ὅτι μᾶς ἦλθεν»',
v.4761) leads directly to a Greek defeat and the general's own ignominious
flight from the battlefield.[28]

Indeed, H identifies certain tactics as distinct to a Greek type of warfare
('τὴν μάχην τῶν Ῥωμαίων', v.1114).[29] Considered characteristic are the avoid-
ance of pitched battles and a marked reluctance to commit forces to large-
scale conflict (e.g. vv.1045–6). Thus, H portrays the Emperor Michael VIII
instructing his general not to deploy a field-army to fight the Franks, but to
practise guerrilla warfare instead (vv.6661–78). Such warfare is shown to
require the maintenance of a defensive position in the mountains ('Εἰς τὸ
βουνὶ [...] νὰ στήκουν [...] | τὸν τόπον νὰ φυλάσσουσιν', vv.6675–6),[30] and
also manifests itself in a preference for skirmishing, swift attacks and swifter
retreats being launched against the enemy by means of a light cavalry con-
sisting mainly of archers ('«μὲ τὰ δοξάρια τους φεύγοντα πολεμοῦσιν»',
v.1124).[31] Even when an open military encounter is unavoidable, ruses are
used to wear down the enemy and create the most propitious conditions
(vv.3712–23). The drift in H is that the Greeks, far from being true *milites*
('οὐδὲν εἶναι στρατιῶτες', v.6963),[32] have a 'cautious nature' replete with
'cunning', and are reliant upon 'stratagems', 'tricks', and 'deceptions' for
victory (vv.1047, 1078, 6677, 6965).[33]

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[26] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. and trans. James, rev. Brooke and Mynors (1983).
[27] 'all these were facile words, boasts of the Romans | who, without exception, vaunt
themselves and censure their enemies ...'.
[28] ' "I see that a tit-bit | has headed our way" '. See also: H v.770, v.761–70.
[29] 'the warfare of the Romans'.
[30] 'Let them keep [...] to the mountains [...] | and guard the land.'
[31] ' "they fight with bows as they flee". '
[32] 'they are not soldiers.'
[33] 'με τρόπον μηχανίας'; 'μὲ πονηρίαν καὶ μηχανίαν'; 'μὲ μηχανίαν, μὲ τρόπον'; 'διατὸ ἔχουν
πονηρίαν καὶ πολεμοῦν μὲ τέχνην'.

Heresy

The final, and perhaps most serious, accusation put forward against the Greeks by western writers, at least after the Second Crusade, was that of religious heresy. In the *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, Odo of Deuil indignantly draws attention to the 'blasphemia' (p.54) and 'haereses' (p.56) of the Greeks, remarking that their errors 'had become known' and that 'they were judged not to be Christians' (p.56). Once again, H emulates such precedents, displaying its most vehement anti-Orthodox sentiments in a lengthy tirade (vv.758–826) attributed to the crusaders on the eve of the capture of Constantinople. This tirade begins with a protest from the crusaders that the Greeks praise only their own and look down upon the Franks, calling them 'dogs'. The Greeks, the crusaders add, are all too happy to eat and drink with the Turks without pointing out to them the error of their ways, but when an Orthodox church is used by a Frank to say mass it remains empty for forty days.[34] The explanation given by the crusaders for this conduct is that the Greeks no longer acknowledge papal primacy or the foundation of the Church by Saint Peter. Whereas—the tirade concludes—in the old days West and East shared one faith ('«Οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πίστιν μίαν ἐκρατοῦσαν»', v.789) and Greek priests received papal ordination, the Greeks have left the Church of Rome ('«ἀφήκασιν τὸν ὄρδιναν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ῥώμης»', v.799) and begun to appoint their own patriarch (v.815), refusing to obey the teachings of the Church as these were received from the apostles and evangelists.[35] While paying little heed to the subtleties of the *filioque* and of other doctrinal debates,[36] the tirade explicitly brands the Greeks as schismatics ('«σχισματικοί»', v.800) and accuses them of heretical practices ('«αἵρεσες»', v.769). The same sentiments are expressed by H in six additional passages of religious invective (vv.472–5, 508–9, 724–30, 833–5, 1245–62 and 3932–7).

Some of the material found in H is absent from B. Thus, B mentions occasions when Byzantine Emperors have broken or intend to break oaths, but neither insists upon the notion that all Greeks are perjurers nor repeatedly accuses them of betraying their lord or their kin (§§380–4, 723–4). Indeed, of the

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[34] Complaints regarding the ritual cleansing of altars by the Orthodox after Catholics had performed mass are to be found in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council. See Gill (1979) 43–4.

[35] '"Franks and Romans [i.e. Greeks] used to have one faith"' and '"they abandoned the laws and teachings of Rome"'.

[36] The tenor of the argument resembles instead in tone the crude lists of Latin religious errors produced by Byzantines and discussed in Kolbaba (2000).

numerous comments in H regarding the treason committed against Alexius IV, B gives no equivalents to vv.724–30, vv.758–826 or vv.1245–62, and shortens vv.833–5 ('puis que l'empereor Alexi estoit ainxi ocis de sa gent par traïson', §55).[37] What is more, although B does refer to a Greek style of warfare, in which combatants refuse to fight pitched battles and rely instead on their cunning and ability to deceive the opponent, this is done with less frequency than in H ('l'empereor commanda et deffendi sa gent que il ne feussent hardi de combatre en plain [. . .] mais que il tenissent les montaignes et les fortresses', §466; '«se combatant par [. . .] enging»', §479 and 'par enging [. . .] par decevement', §69).[38] Finally, of the seven passages of religious invective in H, only two, those equivalent to vv.472–5 and vv.508–9, are included in B ('«vous grec si sunt rebelle vers la saincte Ecglise de Rome»', §29; 'les Grez estoient crestiens et, pour aucun errur qui estoit en eaux, si estoient rebelles et ne vouloient recevoir les sacremens de la saincte Ecglise de Rome', §33).[39] Certainly, there is nothing approaching the rabid hatred of members of the Orthodox Church expressed in H vv.758–826. Nevertheless, although the presentation of the Greeks in B does not contain such full statements as are found in H, the attitude of both these major versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* is fundamentally uncomplimentary towards the Greeks.

The discrepancy between the versions may be explained by the fact that B tends to present a more summarized account of events. The specifics of the formulation of the topos of the 'graeculus perfidus' in H are of a nature which suggests that they may have been present in the original *Chronicle* and, indeed, been triggered by passages in the sources used in that original's compilation.[40] The point may be illustrated by looking at two source-texts

[37] 'because the Emperor had been killed in this treasonable manner by his men.' One consequence of the inclusion solely of this speech is that the overall emphasis in B appears to be on the power vacuum created by the murder of Alexius, rather than on the moral repugnance which that murder aroused in the crusaders, as it is in H.

[38] 'the Emperor [Michael VIII] gave orders and forbade his people to risk fighting in the plain [. . .] but [instructed them] that they should keep to the mountains and fortresses'; ' "they fight with trickery" '; 'by trickery [. . .] by deception'. It should be noted that B's version of the instructions given by Michael VIII is suggestive of a somewhat more rigid and conventional line of defence involving the construction and maintenance of fortresses.

[39] ' "you Greeks have rebelled against the Holy Church of Rome" ', 'the Greeks were Christians but, because of an error of theirs, they rebelled and did not want to receive the sacraments of the Holy Church of Rome'.

[40] There are indications that a lengthy anti-Orthodox tirade may have occupied the same position in the original narrative as it now does in manuscript H (vv.758–826). Although the summary of the *Chronicle* given by B has no tirade at this point, the inclusion of a comment 'sur ce fu moult debatu' (§55) may indicate knowledge of a speech of some size in the text which was consulted. The Greek P manuscript certainly does offer a version of the tirade. It is, admittedly, a

that appear to have been accessed, either directly or via an intermediary, by the author of the *Chronicle*.[41] Of these, William of Tyre describes Alexius I Comnenus as the 'wicked and treacherous emperor' (XI.6) and the 'greatest persecutor of the Latins' (XII.5),[42] while Villehardouin alleges that the participants in the Fourth Crusade were persuaded to undertake the second assault on Constantinople when their spiritual leaders spoke of Greek disobedience to the law of Rome and enmity towards God, and justifies the capture of the city as a means to end schism (§224).[43]

'GREEKNESS' AS A POLEMIC CONSTRUCT

None of the supposedly defining characteristics of 'Greekness' referred to by the *Chronicle* can be considered to be an objectively discernible ethnic marker. A close scrutiny of both H and B reveals that it is, after all, not only the Greeks who can actually speak Greek. Ancelin de Toucy (H v.5234; B §357), Jean de Chauderon (B §702), and Geoffroy d'Aunoy (B §702), as well as two anonymous friars (B §654), are all said to have known Greek well. Indeed, Prince Guillaume II himself has recourse to that language in a réplique that deflates the Sevastocrator's anti-western rhetoric, his ability to display native or near-native fluency in the local tongue belying his opponent's image of him (H v.4130; B §308). Equally, knowledge of imperial court ceremonial is far from being the exclusive preserve of the Greeks. According to B (H does not extend as far as this episode), both Jean de Chauderon and Geoffroy d'Aunoy were apparently accustomed to performing *proskynesis* or ritual prostration, the gesture of reverence habitually made by the subjects of the Byzantine

much shorter version, but this brevity appears to be the result of deliberate curtailing by a redactor whose sympathies lay with the Byzantines (vv.766–880). Statements similar to the reference at H vv.764–6 to Greeks consorting with Turks can be found in Odo of Deuil (*De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. Berry (1948) 108, 136), suggesting that this accusation was widely known well before the date of the composition of the original *Chronicle of Morea*. It is repeated in Demetrios Kydones ('Oratio pro Subsidio Latinorum', *Patrologiae Cursus Completus (Patrologia Graeca* 154), ed. Migne (1866) 1005).

[41] For details, see above, Chapter 2.

[42] Passages are in William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum (Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux)* (1854) vol. 1.1, and translated in William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Babcock and Krey (1976). Further negative judgements of the Emperor Alexius's character and conduct include: Book II.5, II.6, II7, II.8, II.10, II.12, II.13, II.14, II.19, II.20, II.21, II.23, and Book X.13. For anti-Greek sentiments in this text more generally, see Edbury (1988) 130–50.

[43] Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, vol. 2, ed. Faral (1961).

emperor when they came before their ruler (B §716). 'Greek' and 'Latin' thus emerge in the *Chronicle* as formal categories with little correspondence to external realities.

What matter are not the characteristics in themselves, but the value that the *Chronicle* assigns to them. Skill in employing subterfuge to attain the desired end, far from being a cause for chastisement, marks certain westerners out for approval and praise. For instance, the *Chronicle* relates with some relish the wild-goose chase across the Peloponnese on which Geoffroy I de Villehardouin had led Robert de Champlitte in order to take advantage of a legal technicality and disinherit the latter (H vv.2098–440; B §§134–72). Equal admiration is lavished on Guillaume II de Villehardouin for his underhand management of the legal case brought against him by Marguerite de Passavant (H vv.7305–752; B §§502–31). Perhaps most strikingly, Prince Guillaume II and his feudatories appear in the pages of the *Chronicle* as experienced practitioners of deception and mis-information in military affairs. In a passage referring to the battle of Tagliacozzo, the Prince is portrayed in the act of counselling Charles d'Anjou, his overlord, to use what the *Chronicle* refers to as the Greek technique of the false retreat or false panic (H vv.6971–7007; B §§479–83).[44] The *Chronicle* appears proud not only of the Prince's knowledge of Greek warfare, but also of his ability to emulate it.[45] Conduct which would be labelled 'perfidious' when applied to the Greeks thus loses its stigma and receives very different treatment when the perpetrators are Latins.

In the *Chronicle*, the construction of Greek identity serves a polemic purpose. The stereotype of the 'graeculus perfidus' is deployed exclusively against the Byzantines of the imperial court of Constantinople, and those of Nicaea, Epirus, and Neopatras. The targets of anti-Greek diatribes are thus always the subjects of those organized states which presented an immediate threat to the creation or survival of Latin Greece. It is when, and only when, one becomes an opponent of the Latin conquerors that one is considered to be a traitor, an oath-breaker, a coward, a heretic—and therefore a 'true' Greek. In the *Chronicle*, 'Greekness' is thus politically contrived.[46]

The *Chronicle of Morea* repeatedly presents relations between Greeks and Latins in terms of a conflict between rival ethno-religious groups. Both H

[44] Of course, the specific tactic referred to, that of the false retreat, was in reality not an unusual one even in the West. For the representation of warfare in the *Chronicle*, and a discussion of this episode, see Shawcross (2001) 62–74.

[45] For other passages in which westerners are commended for their knowledge of Greek warfare or for their ability to use ruses in order to achieve a military victory, see B §762 and §1005. Of these, B §762 is discussed by Airaldi (1996).

[46] For the same point in connection with Venetian Crete, see McKee (2000) 170.

and B combine a sympathetic attitude towards the conquerors and settlers from the West with a portrayal of 'Greekness' that is often extremely negative. The topos of the 'graeculus perfidus' found in these two versions is derived from a literary tradition that had been established in western historiography, particularly crusader historiography, long before the fourteenth century. This exposition of 'Greekness' is one that comes into play in specific situations within the narrative of the *Chronicle*. The best illustration of this point is provided by H, for there a clear distinction is drawn between the Greeks living in territories still under Byzantine control, and the Greeks of the Principality of Morea. A careful reading of that version reveals that the lengthy passage found there which outlines the history of the schism between the Western and Eastern Churches and lists the supposed heretical practices of those adhering to the Greek rite is situated within the text at a point immediately before the account of the decision by the crusaders to launch their attack on Constantinople; the passage is, therefore, present in the narrative because it serves to provide a pretext for the capture of the city and the subjugation of the Byzantine Empire (vv.759–826). By contrast, once H embarks upon its main subject-matter, the formation of the Villehardouin Principality, and turns to discuss the Greeks of the Peloponnese rather than those of Constantinople, all invective, hatred, and contempt are carefully laid aside.[47] Indeed, in its presentation of relations between the Latins and 'those Greeks | who were with them' ('τοὺς Ρωμαίους | ὅπου ἤσασιν γὰρ μετ᾽αὐτοὺς᾽, vv.1726–7) or 'the local Greeks' ('τοὺς τοπικοὺς Ρωμαίους᾽, v.1577), H has recourse to a different conceptualization of identity, one that is reliant neither upon the ethnic opposition between Greek and Latin, nor upon the religious opposition between Orthodox and Catholic.

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[47] On a single occasion, a negative comment is levelled against the local Greeks of the Principality (H vv.5658–9; B §391). Attributed to Prince Guillaume II, this comment targets the men of Escorta, who rebelled against the western occupiers in the 1260s and 1270s, allying themselves with the Byzantines of Mistra. Even here, however, although the Peloponnesians are accused of 'faithlessness' and 'treachery', no attempt is made to interpret their actions as typically 'Greek' behaviour.

9

Imagining the Principality of Morea: A National History

'It was by the sword that they conquered the land of the Morea', Guillaume II de Villehardouin is made to remark in H concerning the actions of his father and the other Latins ('*Μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ ἐκερδίσασιν τὸν τόπον τοῦ Μορέως*', v.4277). According to this version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, a momentous battle took place during the Latin acquisition of the Peloponnese. In the olive grove of Koundouras not far from Kalamata, the invaders, we are told, faced the forces hastily assembled to resist them: cavalry and infantry from the fortified towns of Nikli, Veligosti, and Lacedaemonia, together with motley auxiliary troops recruited in the Taygetos mountains (vv.1715–31). Although both sides fought hard, the Franks were eventually entirely victorious, and few of their opponents escaped ('*τὸν πόλεμον ἐκέρδισαν ἐτότε ἐκεῖν' οἱ Φράγκοι | ὅλους ἐκατασφάξασιν, ὀλίγοι τοὺς ἐφύγαν*', vv.1735–6).[1] Thus, the creation of the Principality of Morea is predicated in H upon an initial act of military conquest, a fact we are repeatedly reminded of in speeches attributed to the crusaders and their descendants (vv.1382–3, 1613–22, 2438–40, 2456–7, 2732–4, 4485–7, 6311–12). Yet it would be a mistake to conclude that events in the Peloponnese are viewed by the text consistently in terms of the subjugation of the indigenous population. Already in the episode of the battle of Koundouras, mention is made of the presence at the side of Guillaume I de Champlitte and Geoffroy de Villehardouin of their Greek collaborators ('*τοὺς Ρωμαίους, | ὅπου ἤσασιν γὰρ μετ'αὐτοὺς*', vv.1726–7).[2] From the beginning, an effort is made by H to assign a positive space within the narrative to the native Peloponnesians. Thus, H insists not only that the locals were by and large quiescent in the change of regime, but that a partnership of sorts immediately developed between the Latin conquerors and certain Greeks, in particular the local lords or *archondes*. Ethno-religious divisions, while not entirely

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[1] 'The Franks won that battle then, | and slaughtered them all, letting few escape.'
[2] 'those Romans [i.e. Greeks] | who were with them'.

forgotten,[3] are shown to have been superseded by the construction of an inclusive Moreot identity.[4]

ALLIANCES BETWEEN THE CRUSADERS AND THE LOCAL POPULATION

The Greeks of the Peloponnese, for the most part, are not considered by H to be enemies. On the contrary, this version of the *Chronicle* insists that the local population displayed little inclination immediately after 1204 to defend the status of their region as a province of the Byzantine Empire. Thus, we are told that the dignitaries and the common people of the town of Andravida, upon hearing of the approach of Guillaume de Champlitte, immediately advanced out of the city in procession, with crosses and icons, in order to greet him and welcome him as their new lord (vv.1430–6):

> Ἐν τούτῳ ὡρμήσασιν ἐκεῖ, ὁλόρθα ὑπαγαίνουν,
> ἐξάπλωσαν τὰ φλάμπουρα τοῦ καθενὸς φουσσάτου·
> κι ἀφότου ἐπλησιάσασιν ἐκεῖ στὴν Ἀνδραβίδα,
> κ' ἐμάθασιν οἱ Ἀνδραβισαῖοι ὅτι ἔρχονται οἱ Φράγκοι,
> ἐξέβησαν μὲ τοὺς σταυροὺς ὁμοίως μὲ τὰς εἰκόνας
> οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ τὸ κοινὸ τῆς χώρας Ἀνδραβίδου,
> καὶ ἦλθαν κ' ἐπροσκύνησαν τὸν Καμπανέση ἐκεῖνον.

> And so they made haste, and go straight there,
> with the banners of each troop of men unfurled;
> and when they got near to Andravida,
> and those of Andravida learned that the Franks are coming,
> both the *archondes* and the common people of the
>   city of Andravida
> issued forth with crosses and also with icons,
> and went and did obeisance to the Champenois.

Indeed, the initial conquest is presented as a series of swift capitulations not only at Andravida, but also at Patras, Pontikokastro, Modon, Coron, Kalamata, and Arcadia. The countryside, too, is said to have gone over to the Latins from the beginning. The population from Damala to the Holy Mountain surrendered to Guillaume de Champlitte 'with great alacrity' ('μὲ προθυμίαν

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[3] For comments that explicitly refer to characteristics particular to either Greeks or Latins, see vv.2093–5 and v.7290).

[4] A more extended discussion of the issue can be found in Shawcross (forthcoming).

μεγάλην᾽, v.1499). No objection was apparently raised when Geoffroy de Villehardouin announced that Champlitte had come as their lord and *basileus* ('«ἀφέντης ἔνι, βασιλέας»', v.1620). Only a few pockets of resistance are acknowledged by H to have remained in isolated fortresses, such as the island stronghold of Monemvasia, or the three acropoleis of Corinth, Argos, and Nauplio, where Leo Sgouros, described as the imperial commander and natural lord of the region ('ὡς κεφαλὴ καὶ φυσικὸς ἀφέντης τὰ ὑποκράτει | ἐκ μέρους γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνου τῶν Ῥωμαίων', vv.1466–7),[5] held out for some years.

In addition to being quick to surrender, many Greeks, according to H, chose to ally themselves with the incomers and to participate actively in the process that led to the creation of the Principality. On no less than nine occasions, the Latins are depicted in the act of taking counsel with Peloponnesian locals regarding the manner in which the campaign was to be most effectively conducted ('Βουλὴν ἀπῆραν μ᾽ἐκεινοὺς τοὺς τοπικοὺς Ῥωμαίους', v.1424; see also vv.1442–3, 1577–8, 1660, 1726–7, 1744–5, 1751–3, 2023, 2080–2).[6] Other types of contribution are also noted. Twice, Greek nobles who had already gone over to the Latins are said to have acted as mediators, sending messengers to kinsmen and friends to encourage them to change sides (vv.1631–4, 2041–5). In addition, some Greeks are explicitly referred to as agreeing to perform military service for Champlitte ('στρατείαν', v.1646) and, indeed, as fighting alongside the Latins at the siege of Nikli ('τὰ φουσσᾶτα, | τὰ φράγκικα καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅπου ἦσαν μετ᾽ἐκείνους', vv.2028–9).[7] Finally, it would appear that local expertise was called upon during the division of the territories of conquest into individual holdings, with Greeks having a number of representatives equal to that of the Latins on the two relevant committees ('Ἄρχοντες ἕξι ἐβάλασιν καὶ ἄλλους ἕξι Φράγκους', v.1649; see also vv.1831–3).[8]

In return for such displays of allegiance, significant concessions are said to have been made by the Latins. Each surrender (e.g. 'ἀρχίσαν καὶ ἐρχόντησαν κ᾽ἐπροσκυνοῦσαν ὅλοι', v.1640) was apparently negotiated with favourable terms for the Greeks which ensured that their homes would not be seized

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[5] 'he held them as commander and natural lord | appointed by the Emperor of the Romans [i.e. Byzantines].'

[6] 'They took counsel with the local Romans [i.e. Greeks].'

[7] 'The troops, | both the Frankish and those of the Romans who were with them.'

[8] 'They appointed six *archondes* and another six, who were Franks.' It is conceivable that the 'ἄρχοντες' here could also be Franks, as in an earlier passage where the word seems to be used to refer to the noble status of the members of the committee appointed to elect a Latin emperor for Constantinople (vv.922–3). However, this is an unlikely interpretation, given that the two Peloponnesian committees were set up as part of the agreement brokered between the surrendering Greeks and Champlitte regarding land-holdings.

or their moveable property confiscated.[9] In some areas of the Peloponnese, additional grants of land were made to the locals ('τὰ ἰγονικά τους νὰ ἔχουσιν κι ἄλλα πλεῖον νὰ τοὺς δώσῃ', v.1637), while even in those cases where partial expropriation did take place, the *archondopoula* are stated to have been allowed to maintain holdings appropriate to their status ('ὅλα τὰ ἀρχοντόπουλα, ὅπου εἴχασιν προνοῖες, | νὰ ἔχουσιν ὁ κατὰ εἷς, πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν ὅπου εἶχεν, τὴν ἀνθρωπέαν καὶ τὴν στρατείαν, τόσον νὰ τοῦ ἐνεμείνῃ', vv.1644–8).[10] At Patras, for instance, it was decided that each local would keep his 'ὁσπίτι' or 'house' and 'ἐδικόν' or 'property' (vv.1418–19), while at Andravida not only were the inhabitants' rights to their 'ἰγονικά' or 'patrimony' preserved (v.1439), but additional 'honours, grants [. . .] and great benefices' promised ('τιμήν, δωρεὰς [. . .] κ᾽εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας', v.1440). Similar arrangements were made with regard to Kalamata ('μὲ συμφωνίες τὸ ἔδωκαν κ᾽ἐκεῖνοι ὡσὰν κ᾽οἱ ἄλλοι', v.1714),[11] Coron (v.1706), Arcadia (vv.1788–90), Nikli (vv.2046–8), and Lacedaemonia (vv.2058–60). Corinth finally surrendered, we are told, 'μεθ᾽ὅρκου γὰρ καὶ συμφωνίες, νὰ ἔχουν τὲς προνοῖες τους | καθὼς κ᾽οἱ ἕτεροι Ρωμαῖοι τοῦ πριγκιπάτου ὅλου' (vv.2822–3),[12] while the people of Monemvasia preserved their status as freemen and agreed to serve with their ships for a wage (vv.2936–40), and the Melings of the Taygetos mountains were exempted from taxation and *corvées* ('δεσποτικόν'), being required to serve only as they had done under the Byzantine emperors (vv.3025–31).

A MOREOT IDENTITY

The impression created in H is that the willingness of the two ethno-religious groups to treat with one another resulted in the emergence of a strong shared identity in the Principality. Conquerors and conquered are presented as gradually becoming more and more conscious of their status not only as

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[9] 'they all began to come and do obeisance.'
[10] 'they would keep their hereditary land-holdings, and receive more besides'; 'all the *archondopoula*, each and every one who had *pronoia*, would do homage and service according to his rank, with no change'. For a discussion of this passage, see Jacoby (1967, repr. 1975) 442–3.
[11] 'they surrendered it with terms, as the others had done.'
[12] 'upon [the agreement of] terms and [the taking of] an oath that they should keep their *pronoies* [land-holdings, often of a hereditary nature, usually with the obligation of military service attached] | even as the other Romans [i.e. Greeks] throughout the Principality.'

Greeks and Latins, as Orthodox and Catholic, but as the people of the Morea. The text thus depicts the creation of a mixed society whose members, whether conquerors or conquered, were bound together by their patriotic sentiment for their locality. The collective name of '*Μοραῖτες*' or Moreots occurs on a number of occasions in the text (vv.2252, 3900, 3915, 7166, 8266, 8435, 8630), together with the genitive forms '*οἱ ἅπαντες τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μορέως*' (v.6506), '*οἱ πάντες/ἅπαντας τοῦ Μορέως*' (vv.7173, 7858, 7869), and '*μικροί μεγάλοι τοῦ Μορέως*' (v.7808).[13]

Insight into the formation of this new Moreot identity is provided by an examination of two important narrative episodes, one taken from the immediate aftermath of the conquest, the other referring to events half a century later. The first of these episodes concerns the disinheritance of Champlitte's cousin, Robert, by the elder Geoffroy de Villehardouin (vv.2098–427). According to H, Champlitte had been recognized as lord of the Morea but then returned to France, leaving Villehardouin as his *bailli* until he could send a relative of his own to rule in his stead. He eventually dispatched Robert de Champagne. However, Villehardouin, who had participated in the initial conquest of the Peloponnese and proven that he could sort out the affairs of the Latins and Greeks to their equal satisfaction, had, we are told, consequently earned the love of both great and small. Thus, Villehardouin was preferred by both Latins and Greeks as lord of the Morea over Robert, a newcomer from France, who would be an outsider untutored in their ways and might therefore prove less disposed to compromise:

> ... ἀφότου ἀπεκατέστησεν μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲς ἐκεῖνος
> τὰ πάντα ὅλα πράγματα Φραγκῶν τε καὶ Ρωμαίων,
> τοῦ καθενὸς τὴν ὄρεξιν καὶ τὰ προνοιάσματά τους,
> τόσα τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι,
> διατὸ ἦτον καλοϋπόληπτος, εἰς ὅλους δικαιοκρίτης.
> ὅτι βουλὴν ἀπήρασιν οἱ φρονιμώτεροί τους,
> τὸ πῶς νὰ τοῦ ἔμεινε ἡ ἀφεντία τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μορέως·
> διατὸ ἦτον ἄνθρωπος καλός, φρόνιμος εἰς τοὺς πάντας—
> «περὶ νὰ ἔλθῃ ἐκ τὴν Φραγκίαν ὁκάποιος ρουχολόγος,
> ἀπαίδευτος κι ἀδιάκριτος, καὶ νὰ μᾶς σκανταλίζῃ»

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[13] 'all the people of the land of the Morea', 'all the people of the Morea', 'the great and small of the Morea'. It is true that H occasionally refers to '*οἱ Φράγκοι | τοὺς Φράγκους τοῦ Μορέως*' ('The Franks | of the Franks of the Morea', e.g. vv.3909, 4486, 4808, 8931); however, in most instances where Moreots are referred to as a group, this qualification does not apply, and it is clear from the context that both ethnic groups are meant.

> . . . after Sir Geoffroy had settled
> all the affairs of the Franks and the Greeks–
> each man's desire and the problems with their *pronoies*–
> great and small loved him much,
> because he was of good repute and delivered justice to all.
> The most prudent among them took counsel
> as to how the lordship of the land of Morea might remain his -
> for he was a good man, who behaved with wisdom towards them all–
> 'rather than that there should come from France some plunderer,
> inexperienced and indiscreet, to throw us into confusion'.

The implication of this account (vv.2097–107) is that the Latin settlers who had participated in the initial conquest had arrived at an understanding with the local Greeks, and that both groups viewed the intrusion of further westerners as a potential threat to their interests.

In the second episode, preparations on the eve of the battle of Pelagonia are described. H relates at some length how Prince Guillaume II de Villehardouin, although abandoned by his Epirot allies, was persuaded by Geoffroy de Briel to make a stand against the Nicene army with the numerically inferior forces he had brought with him from Southern Greece. Before the battle, the Prince, we are told, summoned all his knights, both Latin and Greek, and spoke to them in order to embolden them (vv.3959–62). In the speech attributed to him, the Prince begins by reminding his men that their homeland, the Morea, is far away and that they have little choice but to fight. He urges them to defend their honour, and consoles them by telling them that, though they are few, they are superior to the enemy. They are all, the Prince concludes, 'bound together in fellowship' and thus of one 'flesh' or 'substance'—they should love one another 'as brothers':

> «Συντρόφοι, φίλοι κι ἀδελφοί, ὡς τέκνα καὶ παιδία μου [. . .]
> ἐξεύρετε ὅτι μακρέα ἀπέχομεν τοῦ Μορέως,
> κι ἂν θέλομεν νὰ φύγωμε οὐδὲν κατευοδοῦμε
> κ'ἤθελεν εἶσται ἄσκημον νὰ εἰπήθη εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
> ἀφῶν στρατιῶτες εἴμεθεν νὰ φύγωμεν ὡς γυναῖκες.
> Ἀλλὰ ἃς σταθοῦμε ὡς ἄνθρωποι, στρατιῶτες παιδεμένοι·
> τὸ πρῶτον ἃς φυλάξωμεν ὡς πρέπει τὴν ζωήν μας,
> καὶ δεύτερον πάλε ἀπὸ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔπαινος τοῦ κόσμου,
> τὸ ἀγαποῦσιν οἱ ἄπαντες ὅπου ἄρματα βαστοῦσιν.
> Ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου ἔρχονται ἐδῶ τοῦ νὰ μᾶς πολεμήσουν
> ὅλοι εἶναι πολυσώρευτοι ἀπὸ διαφόρες γλῶσσες·
> [. . .] Ἡμεῖς γὰρ καὶ ἂν εἴμεθεν ὀλίγοι πρὸς ἐκείνους,
> ὅλοι εἴμεθεν ἐγνώριμοι καὶ μίας οὐσίας ἀνθρῶποι,
> καὶ πρέπει ὅλοι ὡς ἀδελφοὶ ἀλλήλως ν'ἀγαπᾶστε.»

"Comrades, friends and brothers, you who are like my own
                                        offspring and children [. . .]
you know that we are a long way away from the Morea
and that, if we were to flee, we would not make it.
It would be an ugly thing for it to be said abroad
that though we are soldiers, we fled like women.
Rather, let us make a stand like true men and hardened soldiers
—first of all to preserve our lives, as is proper,
and secondly to gain renown in the world,
as is desired by all who bear arms.
Those who are coming to give us battle are a host
recruited from here and there and speaking many tongues
[. . .] We, though fewer than they,
stand in fellowship and are men of one flesh
and therefore you must all love one another as true brothers".

Here (vv.3963–93), the development is thus emphasized by H of a sense of common purpose between the Latins and the Peloponnesian Greeks who campaigned with them in Epirus. Comradeship, teamwork, and *esprit de corps* are shown to have resulted from the need for collective resistance on the battlefield and from the experience of a war waged in northern territory that was unfamiliar and hostile.

In these episodes, H conveys a process of self-definition among Moreots. Confronted by new influxes of north-western Europeans seeking their fortune in the East as well as by hostile Byzantines from the surrounding territories, the inhabitants of the Principality apparently developed an awareness of their own distinctiveness. As a correlative to this, allegiances to the respective ethno-religious groups to which Moreots had originally belonged are said to have weakened. Differences in religion, law, and language, which in other contexts demarcate the identities of Greeks and Latins, are shown to have become of lesser importance, and indeed to have been re-interpreted so that they no longer served as a source of division and animosity.

For instance, H would have us believe that the religious schism between Catholics and Orthodox became a non-issue in the Morea under the Villehardouin. The text relates how, in exchange for a promise of loyal service, Geoffroy I de Villehardouin granted to the *archondes* and their descendants in perpetuity the entitlement to worship according to the Orthodox rite without fear of forced conversion to the 'Frankish faith' ('τῶν Φραγκῶν τὴν πίστιν', v.2094). We are also told that Guillaume II made provision on his deathbed for bequests to Greek as well as Frankish monasteries (vv.7778–83). Indeed, where conflict is mentioned as having occurred, it is conflict not between a Villehardouin prince and his Orthodox subjects, but between a

Villehardouin and the Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy. Geoffroy II is said to have appropriated the revenues of the Latin Church in order to build himself a royal castle at Chlemoutsi and, as a consequence, to have been excommunicated (vv.2626–720).[14]

In addition, with regard to the legal system of the Morea, H not only acknowledges the role played by the feudal code of the crusader 'Jerusalem Assizes' ('τὰ συνήθεια | [. . .] τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων', vv.2611–14), but accords an equal place to Byzantine law, mentioning among the terms of the agreement which the *archondes* reached with Geoffroy I the stipulation that none of 'the customs and laws of the Greeks' would be repealed ('τὰ συνήθεια [. . .], τὸν νόμον τῶν Ῥωμαίων', v.2095). Indeed, the text goes on to suggest that the dual legal tradition which ensued was viewed by all Moreots as a guarantee of independence from external political influence. It is notable that, according to H, when Rousseau de Sully was sent as *bailli* by the Angevins, the entire Moreot population ('οἱ πάντες τοῦ Μορέως, μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι, v.7869) is depicted as resisting and proudly invoking the native laws and customs of the Principality as justification ('ὁ νόμος τοῦ Μορέως, τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια | ὁρίζουν ὅτι . . .', vv.7880–1).[15] Later, the foreigner Florent de Hainault, a northerner who had newly become consort to the heiress Isabeau de Villehardouin, is said not to have been accepted as Prince until he had sworn upon the Holy Gospel to preserve the freedom and local customs of all the inhabitants of the Morea (vv.8645–6).

Finally, reference is made by H to the existence of a common language shared by both Greeks and Latins in the Peloponnese. In his address to the other leaders at Pelagonia, Geoffroy de Briel, Baron of Karytaina, is presented contrasting the difficulties of communication faced by the multi-racial and multi-lingual enemy ('«λαὸς πολύπλοκος κι ἀπὸ διαφόρες γλῶσσες | ποτὲ καλὴν συμβίβασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀλλήλως»', vv.3841–2) with the linguistic concord characteristic of the Moreots themselves.[16] '"We speak one language"', de Briel says ('«γλῶσσαν μίαν λαλοῦμεν»', v.3844). Behind this statement lies a convenient, but rather far-fetched, theory already formulated in Western Europe in the late tenth century and subsequently disseminated by writers such as Aimon de Fleury, Robert d'Auxerre, and Guillaume le Breton, as well as by the *Grandes chroniques*. According to this theory, the French language was directly descended from Ancient Greek. Dating to the beginning

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[14] For an analysis of this episode, see Hussey (1986) 192–7.

[15] 'all those of the Morea, both great and small'; 'the law of the Morea, the customs of the land, decree that…'.

[16] ' "a army of diverse origin and speaking many languages | will never be able to make its different parts reach an understanding with each other".'

of the fourteenth century, and thus approximately contemporaneous with H, an anonymous sermon on the war in Flanders, for example, sings the praises of France's 'Attic tongue'.[17]

THE EMERGENCE OF A NATION

Whether all this amounts to the presence in the text of a sense of 'nationhood' is somewhat problematic. If in the scholarship of the Victorian era there was a widespread assumption that nations were natural, that they had almost always existed and certainly were of venerable antiquity, this view has since lost credence. Terms such as 'nationalism' and 'national identity' now tend to be reserved for the historical period after the French Revolution.[18] This reluctance to classify medieval phenomena together with the imagined political communities of more recent creation is undoubtedly proper. Yet, in consequence one is left with the difficulty of a lack of adequate terminology to describe a certain kind of collective identity which did emerge in the late Middle Ages among a number of European peoples. It has been argued that 'a truly national consciousness, though limited in its scope, burst forth almost simultaneously in many European countries' in the course of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, whose chief features may be identified as 'a juvenile pride in one's own nation'—a pride that was taken mainly in the warlike virtues of a particular population, but also, to some extent, in the superiority of a particular civilization—and a 'devotion to country' that constituted a real affection for the native land.[19] The period following the Norman conquest of 1066 has thus been discussed as one characterized by the 'assimilation and eventual triumph of English identity'.[20] In the case of the Kingdom of France, a steady increase has been detected in medieval writings of statements concerning territorial unity and patriotic sentiment, a change associated with the Hundred Years War, or, more narrowly, with the reign of Philip the Fair.[21] The rhetoric of the public speeches of the kings of Aragon has been shown to contain references to the 'nació'.[22] Similar phenomena have

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[17] See Beaune (1991) 269.

[18] The bibliography on this subject is vast. Studies insisting upon the contingency of national identity and the modern nation-state include Gellner (1965), Anderson (1983), and Hobsbawm (1990). Useful summaries of different scholarly positions are found in Smith (1986, 1995).

[19] Koht (1947).

[20] Thomas (2003).

[21] Werner (1970); Strayer (1969); and Allmand (1998) 152 and (1988) 136–50.

[22] Cawsey (2002).

been identified as having occurred further east, in the Balkans, while it has even been suggested that the Byzantine rediscovery of 'Hellenism' in the Empire of Nicaea should be associated with the same trend.[23] If we are to shed light on the exact nature of the ideology expressed in manuscript H of the *Chronicle of Morea*, the characteristics of the group consciousness delineated in its pages must be examined more closely.

A Feudal Aristocracy

Moreot identity is depicted in H as largely a phenomenon confined to the elite. Cohesion is shown to have been achieved in the Peloponnese primarily between Latin knights and native lords or *archondes*. An ethos was apparently fostered that recognized the privileges of the latter and resulted in the creation of a landed class of mixed ethnic origin. Indeed, already shortly after the departure of Guillaume de Champlitte, that class is depicted busying itself with administrative and military affairs in a manner that suggests it was already well established (vv.2075–102). H expresses a preoccupation with the lineages of a number of noble Latin houses, such as those of the de Cor, de Passavant, de Saint-Omer, de Briel-Bruyères, de la Roche, de Brienne, d'Aunoy, Sanudo, and le Maure (vv.3270–9, 7233–300, 8000–91, 8452–69). Also given their share of attention are the native nobility of the peninsula, the Voutsarades, Daemonogiannides, Mamonades, and Sofianoi (vv.1762, 2946–7). In contrast, the poor scarcely figure and, on the rare occasions they do so, tend to be spoken of in such a way as to suggest that they were despised and considered expendable. In referring to a massacre of westerners perpetrated by the Byzantines, for instance, the text gives thanks to the Almighty that 'none of the noblemen or rich Franks' lost their lives, the only victims being 'the poor and mere craftsmen' (vv.617–18).[24] At another point, it is the common foot-soldiers who are said to have nearly been abandoned to their fate by their lords, the rationale being that such fighters were in plentiful supply and scarcely worth worrying over (vv.3785–90, 3846–98).[25]

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[23] Obolensky (1972) and the debate in Angold (1975a) 29 and (1975b); Mango (1965, repr. 1984) I; Vryonis (1978 1991); Browning (1983a, repr. 1989) I and (1989) II; and Magdalino (1991) XIV.

[24] 'κανεὶς εὐγενικὸς ἀπὸ τοὺς πλούσιους Φράγκους'; 'μόνον καὶ ἄνθρωποι φτωχοὶ, τεχνίτες ὑποχέροι.'

[25] Although in the event the desire of Geoffroy de Briel, who had a reputation as a champion of the poor (vv.7225–6), to protect his own men shames Guillaume de Villehardouin and the rest of the nobles into revising their decision.

Emphasis is placed on the mutual interests of the Prince and his feudatories as they co-operated to protect and enlarge the lands under their control. Events are consequently interpreted in terms of feudal ties and ideals consequent on lordship. Thus, Prince Guillaume II de Villehardouin, speaking before the Byzantine Emperor, is said to have described the land of the Morea not as his paternal inheritance or personal property, but rather as being divided among the feudatories according to their varying status, he himself being simply *primus inter pares* (vv.4271–9). Elsewhere, in a speech of reproach attributed to King Manfred of Sicily, the treason committed by Geoffroy de Briel, the Lord of Karytaina, is defined as a neglect of the obligations which an exchange of feudal oaths entailed and a double betrayal, not only of de Briel's liege-lord, Prince Guillaume II de Villehardouin, in an hour of need, but also of the Baron's own liege-man, Jean de Catavas (vv.5810–17). It cannot be ignored that, in these two passages, no notion of the *res publica*, of the common good embracing all the people of the state, is articulated. Indeed, we may query the relevance of the very concept of 'the state' in regard to the portrayal by H of the Principality of the Morea.[26] It is notable that, in a third passage, the people of Escorta justify their alliance with the Byzantine Emperor with the argument that the absence of Geoffroy I de Briel, their lord, forced them to act in this way (v.5695). The question of whether or not these rebels acted in accordance with their public responsibilities is entirely absent from the debate between them and Prince Guillaume (vv.5636–705).

The Community of the Realm[27]

However, while an active Moreot solidarity thus appears to have been experienced primarily by a military and landed aristocracy, the narrative does

[26] Much depends on the precise meaning of the phrase '$\delta\epsilon\mu o\sigma\iota\alpha\kappa\dot{o}s$ $\tau\acute{o}\pi os$' (H v.8663) used in a passage concerned with the discovery by the newly-arrived Florent de Hainault of the devastation caused in the Morea by the mercenaries and officials of the Angevin kings of Naples. In view of the opposition made elsewhere in H (vv.7687–8) between '$\delta\epsilon\mu o\sigma\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}$ $\tau o\hat{v}$ $\tau\acute{o}\pi ov$', or fiefs held as desmesne land, and '$\acute{o}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\zeta\iota\alpha$', or fiefs held in homage, it is possible that we are dealing with a reference to the Prince's private domain. It should be noted, even so, that H elsewhere uses a slightly different turn of phrase to indicate the family inheritance of the barony of Kalamata, held by Florent's late father-in-law as a '$\grave{\iota}\gamma o\nu\iota\kappa\dot{o}\nu$ [. . .] $\tau\grave{o}$ $\breve{\iota}\delta\iota o\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}$ $\tau\grave{o}$ $\phi v\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$' (vv.7762–3). Jacoby (1967, repr. 1975) 441, especially n. 106, is inclined to dismiss '$\delta\eta\mu o\sigma\iota\alpha\kappa\dot{o}s$ $\tau\acute{o}\pi os$' as a non-technical term, signifying 'public land or country', an interpretation that is supported by B, which uses the word 'pays' in the equivalent passage with the additional comment that the inhabitants, and particularly the poor, had suffered greatly under the Angevins (§596). However, Zakynthenos and Maltezou, vol. 2 (1953, rev. 1975) 230 see in the phrase given by H a survival of the Byzantine institution of fiscal and crown land.

[27] This expression is borrowed from analyses of thirteenth-century England. For its usefulness in describing the type of group consciousness that emerged in Western Europe in the Middle Ages, see Reynolds (1997) 262.

suggest that there was a filtering down to other strata of the dependent
population which were then infused with the selfsame shared identity, if less
vivid and intense. Of interest in this respect is the manner in which H
describes the return of Guillaume II and his men from yet another foreign
campaign, this time one which had taken them to Italy and had led to their
presence on the battlefield of Tagliacozzo. The jubilation which, H says,
greeted their homecoming indicates a feeling of involvement shared by all
Moreots ('Χαρὰν μεγάλην ἔποικαν οἱ πάντες τοῦ Μορέως', v.7173).[28] Con-
sciousness of a shared fate appears to have been not just restricted to the
knights, or even to the fighting men of the Morea more generally, but to have
permeated the entire community. Many individuals who did not participate
personally in the campaign are revealed to have had friends or kinsmen with
whom they celebrated the victory (v.7175), while even those without such
connections gave thanks to the Lord God and the Virgin Mary for the lack of
casualties and the abundance of booty (vv.7166–72). Even more striking
are the comments made by the text regarding both the collective love felt
by the entire Morea for Geoffroy I and Guillaume II de Villehardouin
('τόσα τὸν ἀγάπησασιν μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι', v.2101; 'οἱ πάντες τὸν
ἀγαποῦσαν', v.2762),[29] and the universal lamentations with which the popu-
lation greeted the death of these two princes ('θρῆνος ἐγένετον πολὺς εἰς ὅλον
τὸν Μορέαν, | διατὶ τὸν εἶχαν ἀκριβόν, πολλὰ τὸν ἀγαποῦσαν', vv.2462–3;
'πρέπει νὰ λυποῦνται | μικροὶ μεγάλοι τοῦ Μορέως', vv.7807–8).[30] According
to the text, the Villehardouin dynasty acted as a focal point capable of
inspiring a sense of the community of the realm in all their subjects, whatever
their class.

The Villehardouin: A Unifying Dynasty, A Sacred Dynasty

The Villehardouin are portrayed, therefore, as the unifiers of Moreot society
under a common political destiny. They can fulfil this role because, according
to the text, they are the very embodiment of the Principality itself: the
Peloponnese is their place (v.2503) and its inhabitants are their children
(v.3963).[31] The Villehardouin title of 'Prince of Morea' is declared to be

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[28] 'All the people of the Morea rejoiced.'
[29] 'both great and small came to love him so dearly'; 'everybody loved him.'
[30] 'throughout the Morea everyone lamented | for they all held him dear, and loved him
greatly'; 'it is meet that both the great and small of the Morea | should be grief-stricken'.
[31] See the comment made to Geoffroy II de Villehardouin by his counsellors ('«ἔχεις τὸν
τόπον τοῦ Μορέως ὅπου τὸν ἀφεντεύεις»'/'"you have the land of the Morea, of which you are
lord"'), or the words with which Guillaume II de Villehardouin addresses his men ('«ὡς τέκνα
καὶ παιδία μου»'/'"like children and sons of mine"').

inseparable from territorial claims to the entire peninsula ("Ἰδὼν ἐτοῦτο ὁ πρίγκιπας μεγάλως τὸ ἐβαρύνθη, | λέγας γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν οὐδὲν ἔχῃ τὰ κάστρη ἐκεῖνα, | οὐδὲν πρέπει νὰ τὸν λαλοῦν πρίγκιπα τοῦ Μορέως', vv.2770–2).[32] The connection between ruler and realm is defined as a profound one, given expression, for instance, in the 'longing' said to have been felt by Guillaume II de Villehardouin 'to see and inspect his castles and his towns, which he greatly loved' (vv.4515–16).[33]

The legitimacy of Villehardouin rule is repeatedly emphasized by H, with reference not only to secular values central to the righteous government of lands and affairs by a legitimate ruler ('Τοὺς τόπους του κ'ὑπόθεσες, ὅπου εἶχεν νὰ διορθώνῃ | ἀλλέως τὲς ἐκατάσταινεν ὡς φυσικὸς ἀφέντης', vv.2438–9),[34] but also to the dynasty's spiritual authority. Thus, the Villehardouin are shown living out their lives in imitation of Christ (vv.3975, 4488) and being greeted at their deaths by an angelic host in Paradise (vv.2754, 7804). The victories of Villehardouin armies are ascribed to the protection of God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints ('ὡς ἔνι γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς κριτὴς καὶ κρένει εἰς τὸ δίκαιον, | ἔδωκεν τοῦ πρίγκιπος, τὸν πόλεμο ἐκερδίσεν', v.3268; see also vv.4791–2 and vv.4801–2).[35] Finally, those who either oppose the Villehardouin outright or betray them are said to be the 'enemies of God' ('τὸν ἐχτρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ', v.5722) and the 'recipients of His curse' ('ἐδιάβηκεν εἰς τὴν Θεοῦ κατάραν', v.3931). In accordance with this image of the Villehardouin as most Christian princes, Angevin attempts to disinherit the dynasty are described as 'sinful' ('ἁμαρτία', v.8587).

If we are dealing with 'nationhood', we are not dealing with it in the modern sense. The values of the society depicted in H were clearly rather different. Indeed, Moreot identity would appear to have been entwined with the history of a dynasty and to have reflected that dynasty's drive for the concentration and centralization of power. It is worth noting, also, that H offers no equivalent to the modern word 'nation', for 'ἔθνος' here preserves its New Testament and Byzantine meaning of 'a non-Christian people' (vv.783, 1249), while 'γένος' (vv.593, 6010, 6218, 6270) and 'λαός' (v.5456) are best served by 'ethnicity' or by the neutral translation of 'a people', and 'φυλή' (vv.4155,

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[32] 'When the Prince saw how things stood, he was greatly displeased, | saying that unless he possessed those castles, | he ought not to be called Prince of Morea.'

[33] A page is missing at H in this point, but the lines in P read: "Ὡς εἶχεν γὰρ ἐπεθυμίαν νὰ ἰδῇ καὶ νὰ γυρέψῃ | τὰ κάστρη καὶ τὲς χῶρες του ὅπου πολλὰ ἐπεθύμα'.

[34] 'Both his lands and affairs, which he had to govern | he would look after as a natural lord should.'

[35] 'Since God is Judge and sits in righteous judgement, | He decided in favour of the Prince, who won the battle.'

4724, 7029) signifies 'race'.[36] Yet for all this, it cannot be ignored that what is fondly traced in the pages of H is the portrait of a historical and cultural community which not only possesses a common identity dividing and distinguishing it from other communities, but which is characterized by political autonomy as well as by a territory it regards as its own. We can, perhaps, speak of proto-nationalism.

With any programme of exposition and reinterpretation of the past for ideological purposes, forgetfulness and even error tend to creep in. In the case of the formation of a nation, such historiographical omissions and falsifications can be called 'fundamental factors'.[37] In H, a kernel of historical truth has been decked out with fantasies and half-truths so as to provide a pleasing and coherent story of the ways in which a particular community, that of the Principality of Morea, was formed and developed.[38] The aim is not what we would understand to be an 'objective' account, but rather emotional and aesthetic coherence. The resulting narrative provides a shared history, a repository of memories with which to unite—and educate—successive generations of Moreots. As the text puts it: 'I trust that, if you are wise, you shall learn [from my tale], | for many have profited greatly | from the stories of those of old | although they themselves were born after the time of the

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[36] See Aerts and Hokwerda (2002) 84 for 'γένος', 128 for 'ἔθνος', 272–3 for 'λαός', and 506–7 for 'φυλή'; Sansaridou-Hendrickx (1999) 58–63 for 'γένος', 52–7 for 'ἔθνος', 87–91 for 'λαός', and 64–9 for 'φυλή'; also Kriaras, vol. 4 (1975) 257–8 for 'γένος' and vol. 9 (1985) 109–10 for 'ἔθνος'. As with 'gent' in B, the word 'λαός' has the additional meanings in H of 'combat troops' ('τὸν ἕτερον λαὸν γὰρ τοῦ φουσσάτου', 'the rest of the army', v.1455; 'τὸν λαὸν καὶ <τὰ> ἅρματα ὅπου εἶχεν στὸ φουσσᾶτο', 'the people and equipment he had in his army', v.1835) and 'common people' ('νὰ κοιμηθῇ ὁ λίος λαὸς νὰ μὴν τοὺς ἔχουν νοήσει', 'so that the common folk would fall asleep and not be aware [of their departure]', H v.3850).

[37] Renan (1882) 7–8.

[38] Partial corroboration for the content of H is found in other sources. Two texts written shortly after the occupation of the Peloponnese, Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* and a letter by Demetrios Chomatenos, Archbishop of Ochrid, agree that there had been collaboration between local magnates and the Latins. Thus, in Chomatenos, the Latin sympathies of the *protopansebastohypertatos* George Daemonogiannis, a native of the south-east Peloponnese, are made apparent (*Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. Prinzing (2002) 84–92), while from the *Conquête* one gathers that, at Modon, a Greek, possibly Leo Chamateros, proposed an alliance and aided the future Prince of Morea, Geoffroy de Villehardouin, to conquer a great deal of territory, but that this alliance was revoked upon the Greek's death by his son (§§325–6). In addition to this, both the *Assizes of Romania* (Articles 71 and 178) and fourteenth-century records mainly drawn from the Acciaiuoli archives (J. Longnon and P. W. Topping, eds., *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle* (1969), 21, 45, 58, 73, 127, 150, 198) provide evidence for the integration of the Peloponnesian *archondes* into the aristocracy of the Principality. Finally, the *Assizes* state that elements of Byzantine law regarding inheritance and dowries continued to apply to the Greeks of the Principality (Articles 138 and 174). For a discussion of some of this material, see Jacoby (1967, repr. 1975) VII and (1973) 895 and Magdalino (1977).

ancestors' (vv.1353–5).[39] It is notable that the Prologue contains an explicit statement that both Latins and Greeks were expected to access this history ('Listen all of you, both Franks and Romans', v.724).[40] Under the guise of a mere telling of what 'has been', H functions as a powerful vehicle for the expression of ideological assertion. If indeed no nation can exist without its national history,[41] then an undertaking to provide such a narrative may be seen as the motivation behind the creation of H.

IDENTITY IN THE OTHER LANGUAGE VERSIONS

In order to determine the ideological content of the common ancestor of our texts of the *Chronicle of Morea*, it would be necessary to assess whether any of the other manuscripts of the work contain the same understanding of identity as is found in H. With regard to this, it can be demonstrated that all three other language versions not only concur with H that collaboration occurred from the beginning between Latins and Greeks,[42] but acknowledge that inter-ethnic relations continued to flourish in later decades.[43] Indeed, B, Arag., and Ital. contain traces of much of the material which, for H, represented the foundation upon which an inclusive Moreot identity developed. One often gets the impression that more detailed statements have been abridged. Thus, concerning the end of the siege of Monemvasia, Arag. notes that the inhabitants surrendered 'con ciertos patios' (§213),[44] whereas H sets out

[39] ‘ἐλπίζω, ἂν εἶσαι φρόνιμος, ὅτι νὰ διαφορήσῃς, | ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀφήγησες ἐκείνων τῶν παλαίων, | ὅπου ἤλθασιν μετὰ ἐκεινῶν, ἐπρόκοψαν μεγάλως’. Note, however, that a slightly different translation would be: 'for many who came after the elders | have greatly prospered | as a result of [paying heed to] the tales told by them.'

[40] ‘Ἀκούσατε οἱ ἄπαντες, Φράγκοι τε καὶ Ρωμαῖοι’.

[41] Guenée (1985) 58.

[42] B (§§107, 120–1), Arag. (§116), and Ital. (p.425) all accept that Greeks assisted in the partitioning of the lands of conquest. Besides this, B (§§92, 94, 108) and Ital. (pp.423, 424, 426) note that Greeks advised the Latins on strategy, while B (§110) and Arag. (§114) describe Greeks as combatants in the conquering army during the march southwards to Messenia. Ital. also mentions the importance of certain Greeks as mediators facilitating the recruitment of others (p.425). Finally, according to both B (§§93, 98, 106, 113, 133, 194) and Ital. (p.430), Greeks who surrendered to the Latins were granted privileges as recompense, while Arag. indicates that a certain amount of negotiation took place (§213).

[43] Thus, B records the incorporation of a number of individuals with Greek names, including a few individuals who are ethnically Greek, such as Philokalos (B §§557–85), Aninos (§§803–15), and Vassilopoulos (§829), among the office-holders of the Principality. Arag. is even more forthcoming, not only drawing attention to the presence in the entourages of the Infante Ferrando and the *bailli* Francesco Sanseverino of men with Greek patronymics (§§590, 719), but also insisting that Geoffroy de Briel's most trusted companions during his struggle to defend the Principality's border from Byzantine encroachment were Greeks (§317).

[44] 'with certain pacts.'

matters with greater precision, using highly precise and technical vocabulary reminiscent of an official document ('Συμβίβασιν ἐζήτησαν τοῦ πρίγκιπα Γυλιάμου· | νὰ εἶναι πάντοτες αὐτοῦ μὲ τὴν κληρονομίαν τους | Φράγκοι ἐγουσάτοι ἐνομοῦ μετὰ τὰ πράγματά τους, | νὰ μὴ χρεωστοῦσιν δούλεψιν ἄνευ τὰ πλευτικά τους, ἔχοντα γὰρ τὴν ρόγαν τους καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τους', vv.2936–41).[45] Similarly, with regard to the surrender of the Melings, B briefly refers to the agreement brokered ('s'acorderent a ce que il envoiassent leurs messages au prince, demandant franchise de non estre tenu de servir comme li villain dou pays, mais qu'il le serviroient en fait d'armes quant il en auroit mestier', §206),[46] whereas H once again provides detailed information ('μαντατοφόρους ἔστειλεν στὸν πρίγκιπα Γυλιάμον | συμβίβασιν ἐζήτησαν τοῦ νὰ ἔχουσιν ἐγκούσιον, | τέλος οὔτε δεσποτικὸν νὰ ποιήσουσιν ποτέ τους· | [...] | προσκύνημα νὰ δίδουσιν, δουλείαν τῶν ἀρμάτων, | ὥσπερ τὸ ἐπολεμούσασιν ὁμοίως τοῦ βασιλέως', vv.3024–9).[47]

Even so, neither Arag. nor Ital. tends to refer explicitly to people as Moreots,[48] while B, which does abound in references to 'la gent dou pays de la Morée' (§220), 'la/sa gent de la Morée' (§§191, 217, 273, 335, 457, 800, 817, 1005) and 'ceaux de la Morée' (§§255, 363, 755, 772),[49] uses these phrases solely for the purpose of designating western settlers, and consequently views Moreot identity as the prerogative of a social class indistinguishable from an ethnic group. Indeed, B writes of what is essentially presented as an act of colonization by a conquering people who remained politically dominant and practised segregation. The reigns of Guillaume I de Champlitte and Geoffroy I de Villehardouin are associated in that text above all with the work of

[45] 'They asked for an agreement with Prince Guillaume, | [according to which] they and their descendants would always be | free men, with both their own persons and their property exempt from taxation, | and under no obligation of service other than that which they were to perform with their ships | for which they would be paid a salary and receive additional bonuses.'

[46] 'they agreed that they would send their messengers to the Prince to ask for the liberty not to be held liable for service like the villeins of the land, but, when there was need, to serve instead with arms.'

[47] 'they sent messengers to Prince Guillaume to request terms whereby | they would enjoy the status of those who were exempt from certain types of taxation | and, in short, would never be considered liable for the *corvées* due for the *despotikon* | [...] | but would instead pay homage and perform service at arms, | fighting as they had done under the Emperor.'

[48] Ital. does contain the phrases 'they were of one nation' ('eran [...] d'una nazion', p.443) and 'they were of one language and of one soul' ('eran d'una lingua e d'un animo', p.444) in its account of Pelagonia. However, an additional problem here is that the first phrase appears to be used by Ital. in a context where it includes not only the Latins of Guillaume II de Villehardouin, but also the troops of the Despot Michael. Indeed, Ital. appears to confuse and arbitrarily reassign the content of two speeches, one by Geoffroy de Briel and the other by Guillaume II. In any case, Ital. is indisputably descended from a late Greek manuscript and its evidence is thus of less importance than that of either B or Arag.

[49] 'the people of the land of the Morea', 'the/his people of the Morea', 'those of the Morea.'

campaigning and of conquering land held by the Greeks (e.g. 'commença a chevauchier et guerroyer les Grex dou pays le mieulx qu'il pot', §91; also vv.94, 132, 172),[50] while at Pelagonia the audience of Guillaume II de Ville-hardouin is entirely Latin (§294).

Because of this, it cannot be proven definitively that the ideological position of H was a feature of the common ancestor from which all the extant versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* are derived. Even so, the Greek version of the *Chronicle* has been shown in other respects to be the text closest to the common ancestor,[51] and this could conceivably be the case here also. After all, Ital., a text whose derivation from the Greek version is undisputed, can be shown to rework that version so as to present a different ideological position.[52] There is no reason why B and Arag. could not have done the same.

According to H, the local Greeks participated fully in the formation of the Principality of Morea, receiving in return for their collaboration significant concessions from the Latins. From this policy of compromise, a solidarity apparently developed between conquerors and conquered. Ethno-religious divisions were overcome, leading to the formation of a Moreot identity in which both Greeks and Latins could share. That identity is presented as being of an aristocratic bias, the preserve in the main of a military and landed elite. Nevertheless, there is also a suggestion that a sense both of a common past and of a shared fate extended at certain times to the remainder of the population, people of all classes being united in their allegiance to the royal bloodline of the Villehardouin. Consequently, H can be interpreted as giving expression to a form of proto-nationalism. Its ideological standpoint is not, however, shared by the other language versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*, which, although acknowledging the readiness of Latins and Greeks to treat with one another, do not interpret this readiness as having resulted in the creation of a collective of mixed ethnicity. It may be suggested that the differences of approach observable in the versions should be attributed to the deliberate modification, within those texts written in the various Romance languages, of material found to be uncongenial or irrelevant; this, at the very least, can be demonstrated with conviction with regard to the text developed in Italian. Certainly, the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea* should by no means be viewed as a unique or anomalous product within the context of the wider historiographical output of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean: the textual expression of similar preoccupations is found in other vernacular historiography written in territories under Latin occupation, particularly during the early fifteenth century.

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[50] 'he [Champlitte] began to campaign and to fight the Greeks of the land as best he could'.
[51] See the Conclusion to Part Two.
[52] See Chapters 1, 3, and 11, as well as the conclusions to Part II.

10

The Rise of Vernacular Greek Historiography in the Late Medieval Eastern Mediterranean

Within the historiographical output of those territories of the eastern Mediterranean under western occupation, the Copenhagen manuscript of the *Chronicle of Morea* (H) was not the first text to present the encounter between conquerors and conquered as resulting in the negotiation of a new identity. An antecedent of sorts had already been provided over two hundred years previously. In the course of the twelfth century, the establishment and subsequent fate of the Crusader States in Syria and the Holy Land had been recorded not only by westerners whose presence in the area was more or less temporary, but also by a few permanent residents. Of the extant works produced by the latter, one of the earliest was the *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Peregrinantium* or *Historia Hierosolymitana* by Fulcher of Chartres, a participant in the First Crusade who settled in Palestine as chaplain to Baudouin I, the lord of Edessa and first of the crusader kings at Jerusalem, dying there in old age *c.*1127.[1] In his account of the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Principality of Antioch, and the Counties of Edessa and Tripoli, Fulcher was concerned to stress the coming together of diverse ethnic elements in the foreign land which the crusaders had made their own.[2] Thus, he drew attention in the penultimate pages of his *Historia* to a process of assimilation, noting that, as the incomers became more rooted in the locality and their descendants multiplied, the old homelands had been forgotten ('obliti sumus nativitatis nostrae loca', III.xxxvii.3).[3] Those who had emigrated to the Levant, he explained, no longer spoke of their birthplaces, while the new generations had no first-hand knowledge of the West. Extensive miscegenation had taken place between westerners and the indigenous populations ('ille vero iam duxit uxorem non

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[1] Ryan (1969) 3–24.
[2] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095–1127), ed. Hagenmeyer (1913). For a commentary on this passage, see Murray (1995) 61–3.
[3] 'we have forgotten the places where we were born'.

tantum compatriotam, sed et Syram aut Armenam et interdum Saracenam',
III.xxxvii.4), while a *lingua franca* had also been created that was shared by all
peoples ('lingua diversa iam communis facta utrique nationi', III.xxxvii.5).[4]

At the commencement of the crusading era, therefore, a historian using a
learned register was willing to write with approval of the consequences of
ethnic symbiosis.[5] Matters, however, developed differently in the late medie-
val period. The construction of identity in learned historical texts, whether
Latin or archaizing Greek, became more conservative during the thirteenth
and fourteenth centuries, with emphasis being put on the polarization of
categories of ethnicity. In order to express innovative ideological discourse,
writers appear to have made another linguistic choice—they turned to a
living, spoken tongue. This chapter seeks to analyse the rise of Greek vernac-
ular historiography in the late Middle Ages. It is argued that, in the western-
occupied territories of the former Byzantine Empire, the native vernacular
was considered capable of performing a critical social function and thus
became endowed with particular value as a medium of literary expression.
Indeed, recourse to the language of the subject population may be seen as a
consequence of the political desires and aspirations of those responsible for
historiographical production and patronage in this period.

LEARNED HISTORIOGRAPHY

'Between us and them the greatest gulf of disagreement has been fixed, and
we are separated in purpose and diametrically opposed, even though we are
closely associated and frequently share the same dwelling' (p.301).[6] These

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[4] 'some have taken wives not only of their own people, but of Syrians or Armenians or even
Saracens' and 'words of different languages have become common property known to each
nationality'.

[5] Insisting upon the sentiment of attachment to the Levant that developed among the
settlers, Fulcher declared that as Italians or Frenchmen were made into Galileans or Palestinians,
and those of Reims or Chartres became citizens of Tyre or Antioch, westerners were transformed
into easterners ('Nam qui fuimus Occidentales, nunc facti sumus Orientales, qui fuit Romanus
aut Francus, hac in terra factus est Galilaeus aut Palestinus. Qui fuit Remensis aut Carnotensis,
nunc efficitur Tyrius vel Antiochenus', 'For we who were Occidentals have now become
Orientals. He who was Italian or French has here become Galilean or Palestinian. He who was
of Reims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or of Antioch').

[6] Ὃὕτω μέσον ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτῶν χάσμα διαφορᾶς ἐστήρικται μέγιστον καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις
ἀσυναφεῖς ἐσμεν καὶ κατὰ διάμετρον ἀφεστήκαμεν, εἰ καὶ σώμασι συναπτόμεθα καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
πολλάκις κληρούμεθα οἴκησιν' (p.301). The edition used here is Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, vol.
1, ed. van Dieten (1975). For the English translation of passages, the version given in *O City of
Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Magoulias (1984) has been consulted.

were the words chosen by Nicetas Choniates to sum up his understanding of relations between Greeks and Latins in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Himself a member of the Byzantine aristocracy of Constantinople, Choniates declared that physical contact had not resulted in any real sense of solidarity between the two groups. He accused the Latins of duplicity and cunning, of using words 'affable and smoother than oil' ('εὐπροσήγορος καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔλαιον ῥέων', p.301) in order to disguise their covetousness for the lands of the Eastern Empire. 'They dissemble friendship, [. . .] yet they despise us as their bitterest enemies' ('κἂν φιλεῖν πλάττωνται [. . .] μισοῦσιν ὡς ἔχθιστοι', p.301), he warned, adding that, in the course of a military engagement, westerners would make their true sentiments abundantly clear. This they did, he claimed, through their brutal treatment of the vanquished Byzantine population (pp.301 and 304–5), but also and principally through the dese-cration of the holy places of the Orthodox faith. During the occupation of Salonica in 1185 by troops from the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, Latins, we are told, would enter Orthodox churches when it was the hour for the liturgy as if with the intent to attend the service and offer up praise to the Lord, but would then conduct themselves with the utmost disrespect, 'babbling among themselves and bursting forth in unintelligible shouts' ('λαλαγοῦντες δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ταῖς ἀσήμοις βοαῖς διαρρηγνύμενοι', p.306) so as to drown out the hymns chanted by the Greeks. In the initial sack of the same city, even more barbarous acts of sacrilege apparently were committed: suppliants who had sought sanctuary were slaughtered by Latin knights, while revered icons were divested of their bejewelled coverings (p.299). Worst of all, certain Latins had climbed on top of the holy altar, 'which even angels find hard to look upon' ('οἳ τῆς θυωροῦ καὶ ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῖς δυσθεάτου'), and danced thereon, dis-porting themselves by 'singing lewd barbarian songs from their homeland' ('τινὰ βαρβαρικὰ ἀπηχῆ ἀσμάτια πάτρια ἔψαλλον') and even 'urinating on the sacred floor' ('ἐνούρουν κύκλῳ κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον ἔδαφος', pp.299–300).

It is not surprising to find such anti-western sentiment in Choniates' Χρονικὴ διήγησις, an embittered work revised and completed by a Byzantine shortly after both the capitulation of Salonica, the second largest city of the Empire, to a western power, and the loss, in 1204, of Constantinople itself.[7] However, over a century later, Marino Sanudo Torsello, a close relative of the Venetian dukes governing the Cyclades, suggested that an extended period of

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[7] Choniates wrote his Χρονικὴ διήγησις in multiple stages. The earliest version (versio brevior = b) was begun under Alexius II and ran to March 1205, its text ending on p.614 of van Dieten's edition. This was then extended to November 1206, breaking off with a passage that corresponds to p.647 (Auctior = a). Finally the section on the sack of Constantinople, beginning on p.535, was extracted and continued to the Autumn of 1207, to include additional material now found on pp.635–6 (MSS L and O). For details, see van Dieten, vol. 1 (1975) lvi–lvii.

occupation had done little to alter tensions between Latins and Greeks. For Sanudo, penning his *Istoria c.*1330, Christendom could be divided into two parts.[8] There were, he explained, those regions that acknowledged the Church of Rome and those that held to the 'Greek sect' (p.161). The conquered inhabitants of the Aegean, Sanudo believed, were only outwardly submissive and continued to resent western presence, for they had succeeded in retaining their Greekness intact, a Greekness he linked to their continued allegiance to the Orthodox Christian rite. As he puts it: '[T]here are many peoples [. . .] who follow the rite of the Greeks. [. . .] In the islands of Cyprus, of Crete, of the Negroponte, of Rhodes—and others—, as well as in the Principality of Morea, although these places are subjected to the rule of the Franks and obedient to the Roman Church, nevertheless almost all the population is Greek and is inclined toward this sect [i.e. the Orthodox Church], and their hearts are turned toward Greek matters, and when they can show this freely, they do so' (pp.167–9).[9]

These two examples, one Byzantine and one Western, shed important light on perceptions of identity in learned historiography in the late medieval period. Throughout, Choniates defines the divide between East and West not only in broadly ethnic terms, commenting upon the differences between Greeks and Latins in matters of hairstyle, dress, language, and mentality (pp.301 and 305–6), but also in terms of the religious schism between Orthodox and Catholics. Sanudo similarly emphasizes the choice of religious rite as a factor contributing to the persistence of the divide, but also notes the existence of other obstacles, such as differences in character (p.169). It may thus be argued that no real distinction is made by either Choniates or Sanudo between ethnic and religious categories, for religion seems to be viewed by them simply as the foremost of a cluster of characteristics that define and distinguish Greek and Latin identity.

Crucially, a comparison of Choniates and Sanudo reveals both of them to be equally mistrustful of any outward show of concord between Greeks and Latins. Writing almost five generations apart, both historians insist upon the existence of an underlying hostility only too eager to manifest itself when and where conditions permitted. Indeed, the two historians themselves, through their narratives, are explicitly positioned on opposing sides.

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[8] Marino Sanudo Torsello, Ἱστορία της Ρωμανίας, ed. Papadopoulou (2000).
[9] In the Italian translation, the only extant version: '[M]olti popoli [. . .] seguono li ritti greci [. . .]. Nell'isole di Cipri, Candia, Negroponte, Rodi e alter isole e nel principato della Morea, benché detti lochi siano sottoposti al dominio de Franchi e obbidienti alla Chiesa romana, nondimeno, quasi tutto il popolo è greco e inclina a quella setta e il cuor loro è volto alle cose greche e, quando potessero mostrarlo liberamente, lo farianno.'

A NOVEL HISTORIOGRAPHIC LANGUAGE

Both Choniates and Sanudo Torsello belong to learned historiographical traditions, for the former wrote in archaizing Greek, while the latter's work was originally in Latin. A rather different perspective to that presented in the *Χρονικὴ διήγησις* and the *Istoria* is offered by another body of material, namely historiography in the Medieval Greek vernacular. The point may be illustrated by turning to a pair of fifteenth-century vernacular histories: the anonymous *Chronicle of Tocco* and the *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus* by Leontios Machairas. These two vernacular works display a conciliatory attitude towards the native populations of the occupied territories that form their respective subject-matter. In this, they closely resemble H, the oldest manuscript of the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea*.

The *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*

Completed by Leontios Machairas before 1432 and surviving in three manuscripts (Venice, Marciana. Gr. VII 16 1080; Oxford, Bodleian Library Selden Supra 14; Ravenna, Gr. Class. 187), the *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus* is a prose-chronicle which tells of the reigns of the kings of Cyprus up to and including Jean II de Lusignan.[10] The allegiances of its author are revealed to be those of an individual who considered himself as not only ethnically Greek and an adherent of Orthodoxy, but also a warm admirer of the Lusignan dynasty and, above all, a Cypriot patriot.[11]

Pro-Byzantine Sympathies

By and large, relations between Greeks and Latins are presented by Machairas as being governed by an 'age-old enmity' ('*τὴν παλαιὰν μισιτείαν*', §348) inherited from earlier conflicts between Byzantium and the crusaders.[12] Indeed, the

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[10] The standard edition, with translation and commentary, remains Leontios Machairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. Dawkins, vol. 1 (1932) (with English translation), vol. 2 (1932) (commentary). More recently, a diplomatic transcription of the three extant manuscripts has been produced: Leontios Machairas, *Χρονικό της Κύπρου: παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων*, ed. Pieres and Nicolaou-Konnari (2003). For the dating of the *Recital*, see Pieres (1991).

[11] For earlier studies of the ideology of Machairas, see Michalopoulos (1954); Palles (1956); Kyrres (1963) and (1997); Tivčev (1978); and Pieres (1997).

[12] When referring, for instance, to negotiations regarding marriage alliance between the ruling dynasties of Constantinople and Cyprus, Machairas expresses disapproval at the scupper-

authorial position is often characterized by the expression of a residual sense of duty appropriate to a former subject of the Byzantine Emperors who persists in feeling an affinity with the ideological concerns of his erstwhile masters.[13]

Certain passages in the *Recital of Cyprus* display nostalgia for the time when Cyprus was still part of the Empire. The history opens with the story of the legendary visit to the then uninhabited island and the establishment of many churches there by Saint Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor and founder of Constantinople (§§3–9). Later, fond reminiscences are included of a lost golden age when the Emperors of Constantinople continued to be the rightful secular lords of the island (§158).[14] The arrival of the Latins, in contrast, is often referred to in highly negative terms. Machairas complains, for example, about the state of the Greek language in his own lifetime, noting that the 'good Greek' previously known on the island had been corrupted and rendered 'barbarous' because people had begun to learn French (§158). Similarly, he writes with some bitterness of the legal discrimination against the native Greeks of the island which had been encoded in the *Assizes* drawn up by the conquerors ('ἐποῖκαν ἀσίζας εἰς τὸ διάφορός τους', §27; see also §99).[15] Most notably, he comments extensively and with great indignation on the decline suffered by the Greek Orthodox Church. Thus, he enumerates with charged emotion the Orthodox episcopal sees that had formerly existed on the island, together with the bishops who had undertaken the pastoral care of its population (§30), noting regretfully the alienation that had occurred since then in favour of the newly arrived Latin Church of property which had belonged to Orthodox dioceses (§29). He also insists with due devotion on the cults of local saints who were recognized by the Orthodox Church, remarking upon Latin attempts either to steal relics that remained in Greek hands or to cast aspersions upon their powers (§§31–40, 72). Finally, he expresses disapproval at conversions to Catholicism, making it clear that the shameful death of the *turcopulier* Thibaut Belfaraj was appropriate punishment for the man's decision to leave the Greek for the Latin

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ing of the project by the Cypriot court and laments that the existence of tensions meant the 'better course' ('τὸ καλλίτερον') of action—which would have resulted in the obtainment of a Palaeologan bride—was not followed (§§344–9).

[13] See Galatariotou (1993).

[14] In addition to this, special praise is given in one of the notes appended to the end of the *Recital* to the daughter of the Byzantine Despot of Mistra, Helena Palaeologina, who had founded a monastery for monks and other refugees from Constantinople after 1453 (§711). This note, however, is almost certainly not part of the original text, and must therefore reflect the attitude of a later reader rather than that of Machairas himself.

[15] 'They made *Assizes* to their advantage.'

communion ('*Τοῦτον οὖλον ἐγίνετον* [to Thibaut], *διατὶ ἐσήκωσεν τὴν ἐλπίδαν ἀπὲ τὸν θεόν* [. . .] *ἐγκατέλιπεν τὴν πατρικὴν του πίστιν καὶ ἐγίνην Λατῖνος*', §579).[16]

The Lusignan Regime

Yet to interpret the *Recital* as consistently hostile towards the Latin occupation of Cyprus would be incorrect. The ideological position expressed in the work is more complex, because the framework for the historiographic enterprise undertaken by Machairas is provided by the genealogy of the ruling Lusignan dynasty and the account itself is couched in terms which suggest that it should be read as a vindication of the monarchy. Praise of the Lusignan occurs repeatedly (e.g. '*τοῦ ρὲ Πιὲρ τοῦ μεγάλου*', §39; '*τοῦ ἀντρειωμένου τοῦ ρὲ Πιέρ*', §310).[17] Machairas insists not only upon the reverence that should be accorded to the institution of kingship, but upon the sacred status of the persons of the Lusignan kings. Thus, in describing the sack of the city of Famagusta in 1374, he refers to the event as divine retribution meted out upon the Cypriots because of their murder of King Pierre I (§482). Even more strikingly, in discussing the conspiracy of 1306 against Henri II de Lusignan, he places in the mouth of Queen Isabeau a fierce and lengthy rebuke against the rebel Amaury and his supporters (§45). In the speech attributed to her, the Queen begins by drawing attention to the dishonourable and sinful nature of the rebels' actions, before emphasizing the nefarious consequences for concord on the island, concluding with a request that the revolt should be abandoned and men remain true to their oaths and their lord. Again and again, Machairas concentrates attention on the need to respect the legitimate rights of the anointed ruler.

The *Recital* can be shown to uphold the political interests of the Lusignan house against all other parties. Thus, although willing to write about feudal ideals of interdependence and mutual obligation (§§251–6), when the king and his liegemen pull different ways the author always declares for the king, in a number of passages accusing the nobility of the island of boorish, self-interested, and avaricious behaviour that undermined the foundations of the monarchy (§§414, 451–2, 676). A peasant revolt and attempted usurpation are also condemned in the strongest terms, even though the revolutionaries were of Machairas' own faith and had sought to install 'King Alexius' ('*ρήγαν Ἀλέξην*'), a fellow Greek, on the throne of Cyprus (§§696–7). Conversely,

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[16] 'All this happened [to Thibaut] because he gave up hope in God [. . .] and, abandoning the faith of his fathers, became a Latin'.

[17] 'the great King Peter' and 'the valiant King Peter'.

those who defend the existing regime, whatever their ethnic or religious affiliation, and whatever their social status, are glorified for their actions. Among the men for whom admiration is declared are the Syrians who died refusing to surrender the final tower of the fortress of Nicosia to the king's enemies (§439) and the Bulgar bowmen who defended the person of King Pierre II, winning an unexpected victory (§455). With special pleasure, Machairas records the contribution made in royal service by individuals with Greek patronymics, whether these were Constantinopolitans who had joined the Lusignan (§§194, 362, 446, 563), or alternatively native *archondes* or commoners from the island of Cyprus (§§367, 505, 507, 620, 630, 665, 699).

Machairas justifies his support for the Lusignan by indicating that, under their regime, significant concessions were made to the conquered Greek inhabitants of the island. In particular, religious tolerance is presented as a feature of official policy, the Lusignan kings themselves being assigned the role of rejecters of extremism and defenders of Orthodoxy.[18] Scrupulous note is made in the *Recital* of occasions on which Lusignan kings displayed esteem for Orthodox practices such as the procession of icons (§623) or made benefactions to Orthodox religious foundations (§§39, 246). Even more significant is the interpretation given by Machairas of the attempt by a papal legate, Pietro da Tomaso, to convert the Orthodox clergy of Cyprus by force to obedience of Rome (§101). According to him, Tomaso came to Cyprus with the intention of making 'Greeks into Latins' ('νὰ ποίσῃ τοὺς Ρωμαίους Λατίνους') and, to this end, summoned and imprisoned all the Orthodox bishops, abbots, and priests. Upon the intervention of King Pierre I de Lusignan, however, the Orthodox clergy were released and allowed to continue to perform the liturgy 'as they were accustomed' ('κατὰ τὸ ἦσαν συνηθισμένοι'). The legate was banished from the island, and envoys were dispatched to the Pope to instruct him not to send such meddlesome foreigners to Cyprus in the future. It was Lusignan initiatives such as these that, in Machairas' view, gave the dynasty the right to rule. At the election and coronation of Pierre II de Lusignan,

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[18] For his own part, Machairas depicts himself as personally rejecting religious extremism and thus reciprocating the conciliatory gesture extended by Pierre I and subsequent rulers. Although the authorial voice can be shown to be that of a Greek Orthodox defending the legitimacy of his faith, Machairas appears to be not entirely without respect for the Catholic Church. At one point, Machairas comments 'τὸ λοιπὸν δὲν καταδικάζω τοὺς Λατίνους' ('I do not condemn the Latins [for their faith]', §579), adding 'Ἀποστολικοὶ οἱ Λατίνοι' ('The Latins are an Apostolic Church', §579). Indeed, at least one manuscript version of the *Recital* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Seld. Supra 14) presents Machairas arguing that his objection to the conversion of Thibaut to Catholicism was not made on the grounds that the conversion represented a change from the true to a false faith. The error committed by Thibaut was, we are told, to think that 'εἶναι ἄλλος θεὸς τοὺς Λατίνους παρὰ τοὺς Ρωμαίους' ('the God of the Latins is different from the God of the Romans [i.e. Greeks]', §579).

Machairas carefully explains that the rituals were performed in the customary manner with the approval and in the presence of the local 'Greek notables' ('τοὺς λογάδες τοὺς Ρωμαίους', §323).

Patriotism

Above all, what emerges in the *Recital* is Machairas' great pride in the island of Cyprus. The title itself of the work refers to the 'sweet land of Cyprus' ('τῆς γλυκείας χώρας Κύπρου'), and the very first lines of the narrative declare the chronicler's intention to speak of the 'beloved land of Cyprus' ('τῆς ἀκριβῆς χώρας Κύπρου', §1), 'the most admirable Cyprus' ('πανθαύμαστην Κύπρον', §3), 'the most fair isle' ('τὸ τόσον ὄμορφον νησσὶν', §4). The following pages abound in further praise of the island ('Χρῆσι εἶνε νὰ φουμίσωμεν τὴν ἁγίαν νῆσσον [. . .] τὴν περίφημον Κύπρον etc.', §§30–1).[19] Machairas refers to his homeland as 'our land of Cyprus' ('ἡ δική μας χώρα ἡ Κύπρος', §3) and to its defenders as 'our Cypriot armies' ('τὰ φουσάτα μας τῆς Κύπρου', §484). Such patriotic sentiments, moreover, are represented in the *Recital* as touching everyone, from the Grand Constable himself, Jacques de Lusignan, who orchestrated the defence of Nicosia (§401), to the unnamed Cypriot lad who attacked an enemy galley with his band of urchins (§379). A number of factors are referred to by Machairas as helping to ignite and maintain this solidarity. The island's geographical position (§489), its role as a bastion of Christianity (§§370, 489), and its undiminished defiance in the face of the continuous threat of invasion (§153) are shown to have contributed. More important than any of these, however, is said to be the link between Cypriot identity on the one hand and fidelity to the ruling house and to dynastic values on the other. There is no doubt that Machairas' intention was to inspire his readers by including in his narrative the story of the young squire who, running up with news for Jacques de Lusignan, brother to the king, of a Genoese attempt to loot Famagusta, stated: 'I have come to inform you of this because I am a Cypriot' ('διατὶ εἶμαι Κυπριώτης, ἦλθα νὰ σοῦ τὸ ποίσω νῶσιν', §454).

Analysis of the *Recital of the Sweet Land of Cyprus* has revealed it to be a multifaceted work. After over two centuries of occupation, apparently conflicting allegiances are reconciled by Machairas through the exposition of an inclusive Cypriot identity capable of uniting diverse ethnic groups in a fervent *amor patriae*. Already in the thirteenth century, the *trouvère* Rutebeuf had written of 'Cyprus, that sweet land and sweet island | where all could

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[19] 'We must praise the Holy Isle [. . .] renowned Cyprus . . .'.

find relief' ('Chipre, douce terre et douce isle | Ou tuit avoit recovrance', vv.38–9),[20] while, in the fourteenth century, Gérard de Montréal had also used similar language: 'It was a most easeful land | [. . .] | No strife was to be found there | But rather peace and love and concord' ('C'estoit le plus aize païs | [. . .] | La où n'avoit nule descorde, | Mais pais et amour et concorde', p.271).[21] Thus, in offering an idyllic image of Cyprus as a blessed and tranquil land, the *Recital* echoes Old French poetry. However, the vision of the homeland advocated by Machairas is one which seeks to elaborate upon an existing literary convention in order to turn that convention to a different purpose. The very use of the word 'Κυπριώτης' by Machairas is indicative of the strategy in operation in his narrative. Repeatedly found in the *Recital* (§§33, 75, 91, 140, 141, 145, 159, 166, 168, 192, 356, 359, 370, 376, 377, 379, 387, 432, 440, 442, 448, 481, 539, 540, 545), but otherwise unattested, this word may be considered to be a Greek neologism which attempts to extend the meaning of the French 'siaus de Chipre' ('those of Cyprus') or 'les Chiprois' ('the Cypriots') so that it no longer merely distinguished the Franks of Cyprus from those of Syria and Palestine, but encompassed all the inhabitants of the island, whatever their ethnic background (e.g. 'εὑρίσκουνται εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ νησσὶν ἅγιοι περατικοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι Κυπριῶτες', §33).[22]

The *Chronicle of Tocco*

Deposited in the library of the Despots of Epirus before 1429 and surviving in two manuscripts (Vatican, Gr. 1831 and Gr. 2214), the anonymous *Chronicle of Tocco* recounts the territorial expansion into Epirus of the Italian Carlo Tocco, Duke of Leukas and Count of Cephalonia.[23] In particular, emphasis is put on the events surrounding the acquisition of the twin Epirot capitals: Ioannina and Arta. The work is at pains to depict a conqueror who not merely respected the local population and sought to defuse controversy, but one who

[20] Rutebeuf, 'La Complainte de Coustantinoble', *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Zink (1989–90) 402–16.

[21] *Gestes des Chiprois: Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles (Philippe de Navarre et Gérard de Monréal)*, ed. Raynaud (1887). The attribution of this poem, and indeed of the entire compilation, to Gérard de Montréal, while not certain, appears extremely likely. For details regarding the *Geste des chiprois*, see Grivaud (1996) 970–82.

[22] 'There are to be found on this island both foreign saints and other, native Cypriot, ones'. For a discussion of the word 'Κυπριώτης', see Nicolaou-Konnari (2005a) 61–2 and (2005b 339–42, as well as Kriaras, vol. 9 (1985) 44–5.

[23] For the correct text of this work, it is necessary to reorder the *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di anonimo*, ed. Schirò (1975) in the light of the corrections made by Zachariadou (1983). The date of composition of the *Chronicle of Tocco* is discussed by Schirò (1975) 137–9.

had also appropriated the traditions of his newly conquered territories and thus gave the appearance of having, so to speak, 'gone native'.[24] Duke Carlo is said to have adopted imperial court ceremonial, to have acquired the title of Despot from the Byzantine Emperor, and, indeed, become so far assimilated into the political, cultural, and religious sphere of Byzantium as to worship at a Greek Orthodox church, at least on official state occasions. The Italian origins of the conquering house are consistently downplayed, for, in contrast to other individuals (e.g. '*Φράγκου υἱὸς ὑπῆρχεν*', v.1124),[25] nowhere in the narrative is either Duke Carlo or his brother Leonardo referred to as a 'Frank'.

The nature of the message transmitted by the *Chronicle of Tocco* is especially apparent from the account offered by that work of Duke Carlo's annexation of the city of Ioannina (vv.1465–597). The *Tocco* begins by relating that the Greek inhabitants of that city sent envoys to Duke Carlo, begging him to come and be their lord, a request to which the Duke graciously acceded. We are told that, as Carlo made his way to Ioannina, the entire local population—young and old, great and small—came out to line the roads and celebrate his arrival, showing their great love for their new lord, while in the city itself, local noblemen, together with the bishop and clergy, waited for him before the cathedral of the Archangel Michael. To these arrangements, Duke Carlo apparently responded by adapting to local custom and obeying the ceremonial of a Byzantine *adventus*. First, he entered the Orthodox cathedral and worshipped there ("*Σ τὸν Ταξιάρχην ἐδιάβηκεν ὁμπρὸς νὰ προσκυνήσῃ*', v.1561).[26] He then accepted the acclamations which were made to him in the Byzantine style ("*Ἐπολυχρόνισάν τον*', v.1565).[27] In the following days, he also made gifts of ceremonial court robes and purses of gold coins to the local *archondes* in a manner which echoed the Byzantine practice of distributing the *roga* ('*Ροῦχα ἐρρόγευσεν πολλά, δουκᾶτα καὶ φλωρία*', v.1588).[28] The implication of this account is that the Duke should be seen by his subjects as a worthy successor to the Byzantine Angeloi who had ruled Epirus as Despots in the thirteenth century. Indeed, the chronicler tells us a few pages later that the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II recognized the legitimacy of the annexation of Ioannina, crowning Duke Carlo with the Byzantine title of Despot (vv.2155–78). From this point onwards, Carlo is styled 'Duke

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[24] Other views on the representation of ethnicity in the *Chronicle of Tocco* are expressed in Kazhdan (1982), Preka (1992), Sofiktou (1993).

[25] 'He was the son of a Frank.'

[26] 'He went to [the church of] the Archangel in order to worship there.'

[27] 'They wished him *polychronia* [a lengthy reign].'

[28] 'He gave many clothes as *roga*, and ducats and florins.' For background on the *roga*, see Lemerle (1967).

and Despot' ('ὁ δούκας ὁ δεσπότης', v.2179) or 'Lord and Despot' ('ὁ αὐθέντης ὁ δεσπότης', v.2217).

Proceeding from his description of Carlo's coronation to recount the subsequent conquest of the city of Arta, the chronicler comments that this additional achievement not only represented a restoration of a situation which had not existed in the region for two hundred years (vv.3026–32), but was a feat superior to that accomplished by previous Despots. The Angeloi, we are told, had faced first the division and then the loss of their Despotate. By contrast, as well as reuniting all the Greek inhabitants of Epirus, Carlo had added the territories of Ioannina and Arta to the Ionian Islands to form a single dominion ('μοναφεντία', v.3029). Thus, in the *Chronicle of Tocco*, the Duke and Despot Carlo is presented as resuming and indeed furthering the political vision of the house of Angelus. That vision is interpreted as a drive for regional separatism. It is not forgotten that earlier Despots had only with great reluctance accepted the suzerainty of Nicaea and, later, of Constantinople.[29] The authority of the Byzantine Emperor as the nominal ruler of the *oecumene* is acknowledged by the chronicler, but only grudgingly. That it is within the gift of Manuel II Palaeologus, and his alone, to bestow imperial titles and raise an individual to the rank of Grand Constable or Despot is never questioned ('ροῦχα τὸν ἐφόρεσε [. . .] | καὶ τὸ ραβδὶν τοῦ ἔδωκεν', vv.2141–2; 'στέμμαν τοῦ ἀπέστειλεν καὶ ἔστεψέν τον', v.2175).[30] Even so, it is noted with considerable pride that the inhabitants of Ioannina assured Carlo that they would never seek to replace him with the Emperor by giving the latter direct lordship over the Despotate ('Ἀλήθεια ἐδῶκαν του ἐλπίδα νὰ ἔχη πάντα | ὅτι [. . .] | νὰ μὴ ἀλλάξουσιν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν Βασιλέα', vv.1234–6).[31] Moreover, the Emperor is shown to lack the material power appropriate to his exalted status, for he proves unable to intervene politically and provide appropriate backing for those who seek his protection (vv.2895–906).

Above all, the *Tocco* emphasizes that the Epirot Greeks, guaranteed possession of their hereditary properties with a security they had not known for many generations, were only too glad to feel a common loyalty in their new role as subjects of the Duke and Despot (vv.3030–40). Indeed, hostilities are never defined in terms of opposition between the local Greek population and its conquerors. Rather, a series of external enemies are identified: the Serbs (e.g. v.1197), Albanians (e.g. vv.1184–6), and, above all, the Turks

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[29] For details concerning relations between the Despotate and Byzantine Nicaea, see Nicol (1957).

[30] 'he dressed him in robes [. . .] | and gave him a staff'; 'he sent him a crown and crowned him'.

[31] 'They pledged their good faith that he could always trust | that [. . .] they would not change him for the Emperor.'

(vv.425–6). Against such enemies, Carlo is said to assume the role of protector of the Greek population of Epirus (e.g. '«ἐσεῖς νὰ ἔχετε καλὰ τόσα ἀπὸ τὸν δούκα, | ὅτι νὰ ἀλησμονήσετε τὰ ὀπισθηνὰ τὰ πάθη»', vv.1393–4; 'οἱ πλέοι [. . .] τὸν δούκαν ἠγαποῦσαν, | διότι ἔδειξεν πολλὲς καλογνωμίες εἰς αὔτους. | Φιλοδωρίες, χαρίσματα εἶχαν ἀπὸ τὸν δούκα', vv.1412–14) and indeed to enjoy divine sanction for his activities ('Ἀλλ᾽ὁ Θεὸς ἠθέλησεν τὸ ριζικὸν τοῦ δούκα', vv.437; see also vv.2620–1, 2626, 2641, 3060–1, 3123, 3431, 3434–6).[32]

Dating to the beginning of a period of foreign rule, the *Chronicle of Tocco* thus offers the promise of the almost complete acculturation of the Italian conquering dynasty. It ignores previous fourteenth-century Italian occupations of Epirus by the Venetian Orsini (1318–37) and the Florentine Buondelmonti (1384–1411), to present instead the thirteenth-century Byzantine Despotate established by the Angeloi as the precedent emulated and surpassed by the Tocco.[33] This interpretation of events was all the more easily accomplished since earlier Italian rulers of Epirus had themselves adopted a strategy similar to that attributed to Carlo Tocco. For example, the Count of Cephalonia and Lord of Arta, Niccolò Orsini, had engraved his seal in Greek, adopted the Orthodox faith, and even sought the title of Despot from Andronicus II, while Giovanni Orsini, his younger brother, had also followed suit.[34]

Vernacular Greek as a Propaganda Tool

An examination of the *Chronicle of Tocco* and the *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus* reveals that the issue of identity is not addressed in the exact same manner in these two works. Even so, both contain material that would appeal to a native Greek population under Latin occupation. Consequently, it seems likely that this was the audience their authors hoped for. The *Chronicle of Tocco* celebrates the devotion of the Greeks of Ioannina to their new lord (vv.2176–8) and there are indications that the author himself was from that

[32] '"and you will receive so many good things from the Duke | that you will forget your former woes" '; 'the majority [. . .] loved the Duke, | for he had looked most kindly upon them | and they had received many gifts and much largesse from the Duke'; 'But God ordained the [good] fortune of the Duke'.

[33] In so doing, the chronicler draws attention not to the imperialist ambitions of Theodore II Angelos and his successors, but to their consolidation of power in the western mainland of Greece, and to their establishment of the twin capitals of Ioannina and Arta. For the history first of Byzantine and then of Italian Epirus, see Nicol (1957) and (1984).

[34] Nicol (1984) 81–105.

city (vv.1424–6, 2111–16, 1523–5).[35] As well as being aimed at fellow Yanniots, the narrative slant adopted could in addition have been meant to reassure—and admonish—other Greeks of the Despotate, such as those of the city of Arta, who were somewhat more suspicious of the Duke (vv.2997–8).[36] For his part, Machairas, writing as a native Greek and Orthodox Christian of Cyprus with a strong authorial presence in his work, may well have addressed his *Recital of Cyprus* mainly to those like himself. It is indicative that, although a Catholic reader is envisaged on one occasion by Machairas, that reader is harangued and the passage in question appears to be an interjection used for rhetorical purposes (§579).

It is tempting to view both these works as officially sponsored propaganda. There is some evidence that this was indeed the status of the *Chronicle of Tocco*, for the work was produced during the lifetime of Carlo Tocco, and could have been the result of the Duke's direct patronage. Certainly, the highly encomiastic tone adopted by the anonymous chronicler would have been appropriate for a commissioned work. In one passage, Duke Carlo is proclaimed to be a 'saint' ('τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ δεσπότου', v.2408). Elsewhere, his presence is said to be so dazzling that he 'shone like the sun' ('ἔλαμψεν ὥσπερ ἥλιος', v.3460). While there is no definite indication within the *Recital of Cyprus* itself that Machairas wrote his work after a royal request, the author's family, as we learn from autobiographical information included in

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[35] The text comments approvingly, for example, on the enthusiastic reception given by the people of Ioannina to news that their ruler had been crowned Despot by the Emperor: 'Χαρὰ μεγάλη ἐγίνετον εἰς τὴν πόλιν Γιαννίνων· | ἐχαίρονταν, ἀγάλλονταν μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι | ὅπου εἶδαν τὸν ἀφέντη τους τὸ πόσον ἐτιμήθη' ('There were jubilations in the city of Ioannina | both great and small celebrated and were glad | when they saw how their lord had been honoured'). Elsewhere, the civic pride which the author has for Ioannina comes across strongly, as he extols the courage of the place's inhabitants ("Ἐπίστευσαν 'ς τὰ Ἰωάννινα εἶναι ἀρβανιτζέλια, | χοιροβοσκοὶ παρόμοιοι τους καὶ νὰ τοὺς προσκυνήσουν· | καὶ ἐκεῖ ἦσαν ἄρχοντες ρωμαῖοι, στρατιῶτες ἀνδρειωμένοι' | 'They thought to find Albanian rabble at Ioannina, | and swineherds like themselves who would do obeisance to them | but there were Roman [i.e. Greek] *archondes* there, and brave soldiers'), the merits of its physical location ('εἰς τὰ Ἰωάννινα δεσπότες ἀφεντεύαν | καὶ τὸ σκαμνὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν 'ς τὰ Γιάννινα ἦτον πάντα, | ὅτι ἔχει κάμπους ἔμορφους, ἀέρα εὐλογημένον, | νερὰ ἐκ τὰ καλύτερα ὅλου τοῦ Δεσποτάτου. | Ἡ χώρα ὀμορφότερη καὶ δυνατὴ ἐξ ὅλες /καὶ ἄλλα χαρίσματα πολλά, προτίμησες μεγάλες' | 'Despots rule at Ioannina | and their capital has always been Ioannina | for it has fair plains, and air that is blessed, | water that is among the best in all the Despotate | —the city more beautiful and well fortified than any— | and many other graces and great favours'), and its claim to be the only true capital of the Despotate, to the detriment of the other major city, that of Arta ('Συνήθειαν τὸ εἶχαν | καὶ το σκαμνὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν τὰ Γιάννινα <νὰ> εἶναι, | κάπου ἐὰν ἐκάθοντο 'ς τὴν Ἄρταν διὰ κυνήγι' | 'They were accustomed | to have their capital at Ioannina | even though they sometimes resided in Arta in order to hunt').

[36] The author comments, for instance, upon the initial reluctance of those of Arta to surrender to Carlo Tocco ('Ταὐτὸν ἐσυμβιβάσθησαν—ἤθελαν οὐκ ἤθελαν— | τὴν Ἄρταν νὰ τοῦ δώσουσιν, νὰ γένουν ἐδικοί του' | 'Then they agreed—whether they willed it or not— | to give him Arta and become his subjects').

the work, claimed to have close links with the Lusignan court. Machairas' uncle apparently was tutor to King Pierre II (§566), his father a royal counsellor (§608), his brother the king's servant (§631), and another relative governor of Cyprus (§633).[37] Furthermore, Machairas himself is known from an independent source, the *Voyage d'Outremer* of Bertrandon de la Broquière, to have held a position of trust, and to have carried out at least one diplomatic mission for the Lusignan.[38] In 1432, de la Broquière encountered the author at the court of the Grand Karaman, Ibrahim Beg, at Laranda in Lycaonia, and noted that he could speak fairly good French ('trouavay en ceste [. . .] ville de Larande un gentilhomme de Cypre [. . .] que l'on nomme Lyon Maschere').[39] Given that no mention is made of this trip to Anatolia in the *Recital*, it may be that authorial activities pre-dated the mission and indeed may have been the means by which Machairas received advancement under Jean II de Lusignan.

Texts written in the Greek vernacular, employing the mnemonic devices, bold diction and vibrant narratorial voice of oral storytelling, would have been especially well-suited to getting the message of the occupying regime across to their native subjects. Other linguistic and stylistic options were available, it should be noted, to the conquerors of the former provinces of the Byzantine Empire. Although members of the imperial court in Constantinople had always tended to refer to these regions as a cultural desert, a practice they maintained into the Palaeologan era,[40] evidence concerning the existence of personal and institutional libraries belies such statements. A monastery near Paphos on Cyprus, for instance, can be shown not only to have assembled under its founder, Neophytos the Recluse, a substantial library of over one hundred and fifty volumes in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but to have maintained a policy of regular acquisitions thereafter.[41] This suggests that individuals and groups could be found outside the imperial capital who possessed more than the rudiments of an education

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[37] For a full list of passages in the *Recital* referring to the activities of members of the Machairas family, see Pieres and Nicolaou-Konnari (1997) 84.

[38] Anaxagorou (1998) 12.

[39] 'I found in this [. . .] town of Laranda a nobleman of Cyprus [. . .] whom they call Leontios Machairas.' Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. Schefer (1892, repr. 1972) 106.

[40] See, for instance, the statements of Constantine Massanes (Horna (1904) 98) and Manuel Palaeologus (*Lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue*, ed. Legrand (1893) 44–5) regarding Cyprus, those by Michael Choniates regarding Attica (*Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou (2002) 38–9), and those of Demetrios Kydones (Demetrius Kydones, *Correspondance*, ed. Loernetz, vol. 1 (1956) 26, vol. 2 (1960) 251) or the anonymous author of *Mazaris* regarding the Peloponnese (*Mazaris; Journey to Hades*, ed. Smithies, Share *et al.* (1975) 64).

[41] See Constantinides and Browning (1993) 9.

and may indeed be described as having a passion for letters. Certainly, a large number of surviving manuscripts—over eighty—can be identified from their subscriptions, possession notes, style or decoration as having been either written in Cyprus and Epirus, or alternatively imported there in the period from the late twelfth to the early fifteenth centuries.[42] Apart from liturgical texts such as Gospel Lectionaries and Psalters, biblical commentaries, theological writings, hagiographical compositions, and hymnography, these manuscripts attest to an engagement with philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, divination and prophecy, the law, history, collections of proverbial sayings, grammars, dictionaries and even works of epistolography, secular poetry, and drama. Indeed, a single codex, as is demonstrated by an example written in the second half of the fourteenth century for the notary Constantine Anagnostes and now preserved in the Vatican Library in Rome (Palatinus Graecus 367) could contain diverse material in a wide range of registers.[43] Yet, although a relatively high level of education can be postulated for some, at least, of the inhabitants of the former provinces of Byzantium, it may be argued that a significantly large proportion of the population remained which would have struggled to comprehend adequately a historiographical work composed in a learned tongue. Indeed, the statement in the *Assizes of Romania* to the effect that the secular lords were 'for the most part unlettered men' ('per la mazor parte sia homeni indoti') is one that is likely to be applicable to all the geographical areas under western occupation.[44] The choice of linguistic level made in the *Recital of Cyprus* and the *Chronicle of Tocco* was one that sought to address this issue by emphasizing accessibility and the imperative of communication. What is more, it was a choice that could well have appeared natural to a patron originating in a western milieu where the potential of the spoken language as a literary language had already been recognized.

The elaboration of the Greek *Chronicle of Morea* in the fourteenth century can be said to prefigure the composition of the *Recital of Cyprus* and the *Chronicle of Tocco*. Admittedly, there are differences. Most notably, the two fifteenth-century works do not follow H in presenting a view that is overtly hostile towards Byzantium. This can be explained by a change in the political situation, for, unlike the fourteenth-century Peloponnese, in the fifteenth century neither Cyprus nor Epirus was directly threatened by an invading Byzantine army. Beyond that, however, all three histories agree in presenting

[42] Details of these manuscripts can be found in Constantinides and Browning (1993); Constantinides (1995); Cataldi Palau (1997, 2006); Turyn, vols. 1 and 2 (1972) and (1980), and Nicol (1984) 247–8.

[43] Constantinides and Browning (1993) 153–9.

[44] *Les Assises de Romanie*, ed. Recoura (1930) 251 (Assize 145).

foreign conquest as instating a compassionate regime advantageous to the subjugated Greek-speaking populations. All three also justify this ideological framework with due reference to the Divine Will. Each emphasizes the most Christian status of the ruling dynasty, of the people, and of the territory itself. Thus, while controversies entailed in the schism between Latins and Greeks are carefully avoided, the Christian faith is used to isolate another sort of collectivity. Whether it be of the Morea, of Cyprus, or of Epirus, that collectivity is emphatically defined as a proto-national or, at the very least, a regionalist one.

The learned histories of both Nicetas Choniates and Marino Sanudo Torsello can be shown to construct identity in traditional ethno-religious terms and to insist upon the polarization of Latins and Greeks. However, the late Middle Ages did mark a radical departure for historiography in the eastern Mediterranean. This period saw the composition of works that constituted the first known chronicles in the Greek vernacular since late antiquity. A hiatus had existed from the sixth century, the date of the creation of the $X\rho o\nu o\gamma\rho a\phi\acute{\iota}a$ of John Malalas, until the fourteenth century. This sudden recourse to a neglected linguistic register reflected a change in the objectives of those who patronized and produced historical writings. The new output was associated exclusively with areas under western control and targeted a very different audience from that envisaged either by the Latin historiography intended primarily for westerners or by the classicising historiography of the Byzantine imperial court. Both the anonymous *Chronicle of Tocco* and the *Recital of the Sweet Land of Cyprus* by Leontios Machairas insist upon the existence of solidarity between conquerors and conquered. These two histories, with the peculiarities of the principles they contain and, above all, with their heightened preoccupation with the discourses surrounding the issue of identity, give the impression of works of propaganda which were primarily addressed to the subject local Greek population. This explanation regarding the pressures that came to bear upon the form and content of the *Tocco* and the *Recital* is one which can also be advanced with respect to the text transmitted in manuscript H; indeed it is an explanation which may also be argued to have applied to the lost common ancestor behind all the extant versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*, for that common ancestor is likely, as has already been demonstrated, to have been written in Greek in the entourage of a Latin aristocratic family, the le Maure. As the earliest surviving work of historical writing in the vernacular tongue of the indigenous population that deals with contemporary or near-contemporary events, the *Chronicle of Morea*, according to this interpretation, may be seen as a precocious attempt to engage with the need to create a usable recent past—to create, in other words, a narrative that could

not only recount the establishment of western control over the former territories of the Byzantine Empire, but, through a language that would appeal to the defeated Greeks and through ideological sleights-of-hand, could vindicate the ongoing occupation by presenting it as something essentially greater and more acceptable than foreign domination. The *Chronicle of Morea*, foreshadowing as it did many aspects of the ethos that would find more developed expression in the later works produced in Cyprus and Epirus, may be consequently said to have constituted the founding text of a new type of historiography. Yet this does not entirely explain the genesis of the *Chronicle* at the specific date in which it was first created. As we shall see, the need for cohesion between Latins and Greeks acquired particular importance in the face of the crisis which gripped the nobility of the Morea in the early fourteenth century.

11

The Principality of Morea in Crisis: An Identity Compromised

In the course of the second half of the thirteenth century, the territorial integrity of the Principality of Morea was breached as a consequence of the successful pursuit by the Byzantines of a programme of re-conquest, causing relations between Latin settlers and native Greeks to come under pressure. During the same decades, the political autonomy of the Morea was compromised due to the acknowledgement of Angevin suzerainty. The claims of the ruling Villehardouin dynasty became less easy to substantiate, while the power and prestige of the aristocracy also suffered. Events appear to have reached a culmination by the 1320s.[1] These circumstances may explain why it had become so important by the second quarter of the fourteenth century to articulate certain ideological assertions in written form. It is surely neither insignificant nor accidental that it was precisely at the time at which it faced its greatest threat that Moreot identity came to receive its most uncompromising expression. The *Chronicle of Morea*, as we shall see, both marked and sought to mask the dissolution of the Principality. This chapter examines the place and function of the genre of historiography in a period of political upheaval. By focusing on the perception of events by the Moreots themselves, it becomes possible to suggest a motivation for the creation of the original *Chronicle*. Following on from this, one can then address the issue of the elaboration of the versions in different languages. As we shall see, the textual metamorphosis of the work both reflected and sought to generate certain external realities. Of the different versions, each can be shown to occupy a particular social space, both as a product of a particular environment and as an agent at work in that environment.

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[1] One is admittedly largely dependent for the record of these changes upon the *Chronicle of Morea* itself. Even so, as will become apparent below, a certain amount of independent evidence can be found which lends credence to the notion of a mounting crisis.

BYZANTINE ENCROACHMENT

After the battle of Pelagonia in 1259, the surrender to the Byzantines of the three key Peloponnesian fortresses of Mistra, Monemvasia, and Maina by Guillaume II de Villehardouin led to the establishment of an imperial enclave within the confines of the peninsula itself. Whereas, prior to Pelagonia, Guillaume II had been able to declare that a 'Prince of the Morea' held the Peloponnese in its entirety under his sway (H vv.2771–2), his successor Florent de Hainault was forced to be content with calling himself 'lord and prince of the part of the Morea which is under Latin rule' ('ὁ ἀφέντης πρίγκιπας Μορέως, 'ς ὅσον κρατοῦν οἱ Φράγκοι', H v.8678). This division of the Peloponnese between Emperor and Prince resulted in the creation of what may best be described as a frontier society.[2] Indications appear in the *Chronicle of Morea* of the existence of a marchland defended by royal castles such as Great Arachova (H v.7200; B §495), Karytaina and Araclovon or Bucelet (H vv.8191–2; B §563; Arag. §432; Ital. p.462), Saint George of the Escorta (B §805; Arag. §471), Kalamata (B §750), Beaufort (B §§819–22), and Chastelneuf (B §830). Some of these castles had been the private estate and inheritance of the Villehardouin since the conquest, while others had passed under the direct control of Guillaume II after the death of Geoffroy I de Briel, and still others were new foundations by Florent de Hainault and his wife Isabeau. The marchland itself is referred to as 'ἄκρη' in H (e.g. v.7201), 'frontiere' in B (e.g. §495), and 'frontera' in Arag. (e.g. §471). All in all, the impression created is that of a heavily militarized border.

One might assume that a state of war was practically continuous in the Peloponnese. In fact, this was not the case. Co-operation was not unknown, and individuals appear to have been capable of mutual respect and admiration. In referring to the truce made by Florent de Hainault with the Byzantine Emperor *c.*1289, the *Chronicle* notes with satisfaction that both sides profited and grew richer during the ensuing period of peaceful coexistence ('ἐπλούτηναν οἱ ἅπαντες, Φράγκοι τε καὶ Ρωμαῖοι', H v.8781 and 'avoit ainxi bonne pais que [...] la gent ne savoient la moitié de ce qu'il avoient', B §606).[3] At events such as the fairs of Varveines, where people from all parts of the Peloponnese, 'as much from the lands of the emperor as from those of the prince' ('tant dou pay de l'empereor comme de cellui dou prince', B §802),

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[2] For a discussion of the role of the frontier in the Middle Ages, see Turrentine Jackson (1978); Bartlett and Mackay (eds.) (1989); Lewis (1958).

[3] 'everyone got rich, both Franks and Romans'; 'and peacetime was so good [...] that people did not know half of what they owned'.

could gather together to buy and sell, unofficial trans-frontier interaction of a peaceable nature appears to have existed despite inter-state warfare. Furthermore, a compromise is said to have been reached which allowed the continued smooth exploitation of resources despite the Byzantine advance. The more fertile and agriculturally productive areas of the Peloponnese were held in condominium as 'casaux de parçon' or 'shared estates' (B §§663–4, 830).[4] All this notwithstanding, however, a definitive peace was unacceptable to the rulers of either side. Intermittent hostilities were a feature of the reigns of Florent de Hainault and Philippe de Savoie, hostilities which invariably led to a further diminution of the territory of the Principality.

In the confrontation between Prince and Emperor, the native Greeks of the Peloponnese occupied an ambiguous position. A number developed ties on both sides of the frontier, a circumstance which encouraged the display of fluctuating allegiances. According to the *Chronicle*, one Peloponnesian, who went by the name of Photis, ordinarily lived in Kalavryta, and was a Byzantine subject, but spent some of his time on land of his in the vicinity of Acrocorinth, a fortress still under Latin control. There developed, we are told, a conflict of interest between him and the local Latin castellan, which Photis sought to resolve first by seeking diplomatic intervention from Mistra on his behalf, and then, when this failed to produce results, by ambush and murder. However, in the event, due to a case of mistaken identity, it was another Latin, Gui de Charpigny, whom Photis considered 'his lord and close friend', who was fatally wounded, an outcome which appears to have left Photis himself genuinely struck by remorse, for, when he realized the error his assassins had committed, he gave no thought to saving his own skin, but instead cradled the dying man in his arms, weeping bitterly over him and imploring his pardon (B §§663–78). In another episode, Corcondille or Korkondeilos,[5] a Greek who

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[4] For the institution of 'casaux de parçon', see Jacoby (1963, repr. 1975) VIII, 111–25. A precedent to this pattern of condominium may be found in the account of the surrender of Nauplion (H vv.2871–3; B §199), from which it would appear that an agreement was reached according to which the upper castle would be occupied by those loyal to the Prince, the lower by those loyal to Emperor; however, the status of the Greeks occupying the lower castle is not entirely clear. The institution was apparently still flourishing towards the middle of the fourteenth century, for in an act of donation of landed property to Niccolò Acciaiuoli dating from the year 1337 'casale mezanie, pro medietate Grecorum et pro medietate Francorum' ('estates shared equally between the Greeks and the Franks') are mentioned (*Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV siècle,* ed. Longnon and Topping (1969) 46).

[5] The spelling 'Corcondille', given in B, is a faithful phonetic rendition from Greek into French of surname or sobriquet of the individual in question. It should be noted that, in late medieval vernacular Greek, the word meaning crocodile, κροκόδειλος, is frequently encountered in the variant forms κορκόνδειλος or κορκόδειλος.

is said to have been a resident of Great Arachova in the Principality and whose nephew was employed as cellarer in a Latin castle, is depicted travelling to Mistra to arrange a secret alliance with the Byzantine commander Leo Mavropappas. Having been granted troops by Mistra, and secured the aid of his own kinsman, who proved willing to betray the trust his office entailed, this Korkondeilos succeeded in taking by stealth Saint George, a crucially important stronghold in the Escorta, and immediately delivered it to the Byzantines (B §§803–14). Such conduct was only to be expected, given that the frontier established in the Peloponnese was a political one with few, if any, social, cultural, or economic correlatives.

A SOCIETY IN DECLINE

It was in order to counter Byzantine expansionism that Prince Guillaume II de Villehardouin turned to Charles I d'Anjou in the 1260s. A marriage alliance was duly arranged between the heiress of the Principality of Morea, the young Isabeau, and one of the sons of Charles I. The conditions of this alliance, however, were to have detrimental consequences for the sovereignty of the Morea. The treaty of Viterbo, signed on 24 May 1267, stipulated that, after the reign of Guillaume II, the Principality would, in the event of the demise of Isabeau's husband without an heir of his body, revert to Charles I or his successor.[6] From the death of Guillaume II in 1278 and thereafter, the two oldest versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* increasingly allude to the authority acquired by the Angevin kings of Naples over the Principality and describe a commensurate marginalization of the Villehardouin (e.g. H vv.7774–7, 7870, 8390–1, 8410; B §§533, 540, 580, 583, 598). Of the versions, it is H that most clearly expresses disapproval at this turn of events. Some endorsement is admittedly shown in the text for Charles I d'Anjou, to whom it once refers as the 'great king' (v.6235). However, this positive view of Charles I appears to be connected to the fact that the text chooses to exonerate him from the disinheritance of the Villehardouin. The later Angevins are not treated with as much leniency. Thus, H uses its description of the terms of the matrimonial agreement drawn up prior to the second marriage of Isabeau de Villehardouin, to Florent de Hainault, as an opportunity for an outburst against what it considers to be her unjust treatment (''Ἐδὲ ἁμαρτία ποῦ ἐγίνετον

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[6] For the treaty, see *Actes relatifs à la Principauté de Morée, 1289–1300*, ed. Perrat and Longnon (1967) 207–11.

[. . .] | [. . .] ἀκληρήσασιν τὴν πριγκίπισσα Ζαμπέαν', vv.8587–8).[7] Similar terms are also employed in another narratorial aside to criticize the actions of Robert of Taranto against Mahaut de Hainault, Isabeau's daughter ('ὁ πρίγκιπας ὁ Τάραντος ἐκράτει τὸ ἰγονικόν της, | τὸ πριγκιπᾶτο Ἀχαΐας μὲ τρόπον ἀδικίας', vv.7280–1).[8]

Even more extensive are the criticisms made by H against the manner in which the Angevins exercised their authority over the Principality. Angevin government is described as destructive because of its bureaucratic and impersonal nature. Thus, H comments upon the need not for royal proclamations issued by a distant administration ('γραφές, πιττάκια τοῦ ῥηγός', v.7851),[9] but for the bodily presence in the Morea of the ruler himself ('σωματικῶς νὰ ἀπέρχεται ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου', v.7883).[10] Two Moreot knights, de Chauderon and de Tournay, are presented in the act of berating Charles II d'Anjou. The knights declare that the Principality is impoverished, in danger, and losing its territory because it lacks a Prince to rule over it in the fashion to which Moreots were accustomed ('πολλοὺς τρόπους τοῦ εἴπασιν καὶ ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἐδεῖξαν· | τὸ πῶς ὁ τόπος τοῦ Μορέως τὸ πριγκιπᾶτο Ἀχαΐας | ἀπόρει κ'ἐκιντύνευεν καὶ ἦτον εἰς ἀπώλειαν, | διατὸ ἔλειπεν ὁ πρίγκιπας ὅπου ἦτον πάντα εἰς αὗτον', vv.8552–5).[11] In particular, they condemn the appointment of agents who do not have the Principality's best interests at heart, and the dispatch of mercenaries who then wreak devastation ('«Ἐσὺ ἀποστέλνεις στὸν Μορέαν μπάϊλον καὶ ρογατόρους | καὶ τυραννίζουν τοὺς φτωχούς, τοὺς πλούσιους ἀδικοῦσιν | τὸ διάφορόν τους πολεμοῦν, κι ὁ τόπος ἀπορεῖται»', vv.8556–8).[12] Similar complaints are reiterated by H in other passages (e.g.'Ηὗρεν [. . .] τὸν δεμοσιακὸν τόπον | ἐξηλειμμένον παντελῶς ἀπὸ τοὺς ρογατόρους | καὶ τοῦ ῥηγὸς τὲς ἐξουσίες ὅπου τὸν ἐρημῶσαν', vv.8663–5).[13] Documents of the period not only confirm that Angevin mercenary garrisons, unpaid for months at a time, found themselves forced to live off the land, leading to widespread destruction, but show how unpopular certain Angevin *baillis* proved with Moreots. In 1279,

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[7] 'See what a sin they committed [. . .] | [. . .] they took the inheritance of Princess Isabeau from her.'

[8] 'the Prince of Taranto kept her inheritance from her, | the Principality of Morea, in an unjust fashion.'

[9] 'letters, epistles of the king.'

[10] 'to come to [govern] the Principality in his own person.'

[11] 'They explained to him in many ways and showed him | that the land of the Morea, the Principality of Achaia | was endangered, and on the decline, | because it lacked a prince such as had always ruled over it.'

[12] '"You send a *bailli* and mercenaries to the Morea | who oppress the poor and deal unjustly with the rich | in pursuit of their own vested interests, so that the land is ruined".'

[13] 'He [. . .] found the country [or, possibly, '*desmesne* land'] | completely devastated by the mercenaries | and ruined by those whom the King had placed in authority.'

the bishop of Modon protested that the monies due to him in accordance with the will of Guillaume II de Villehardouin were being withheld, while the knight Etienne de Remy appealed against confiscation of his property by the *bailli*.[14]

The conduct of those who became Princes of Morea through their marriage to Isabeau de Villehardouin is commented upon by the *Chronicle of Morea* in a rather inconsistent manner. The princes who succeeded Guillaume II are referred to in H and B as outsiders. Indeed, Florent de Hainault is said by B to have come to the Morea as a creature of the Angevins ('il appartenoit au roy Charles', §598).[15] But the successors of Guillaume II also appear in both H and B as willing to reach a compromise with their subjects and indeed to become, in a sense, honorary Moreots. Thus, Florent is presented in both versions as declaring to the Byzantine Emperor that he has no sovereign ('«εἶμαι ἀφέντης | καὶ πρίγκιπας εἰς τὸν Μορέαν, νὰ ποιήσω ὅσον θέλω, | νὰ ἔνι στερκτὸν κι ἀσάλευτον, κανεῖν οὐκ ἔχω ἀνάγκην»', H vv.8734–6 and '«je n'ay nul soverain sur moy»', B §604), a statement which overlooks his ties to the Angevin king.[16] Later, B relates with some glee the decision of Philippe de Savoie, Isabeau's third husband, to organize a *parlement* and joust at Corinth with a view to withholding military aid from the Angevins (§1007). It is only in so far as they adhered to local customs and attempted to disassociate themselves from the Angevins that the two princes are treated by the *Chronicle* with something resembling approbation.

The impact upon Moreot society of Angevin suzerainty and eventual annexation was considerable. The power wielded by the nobility of Southern Greece appears to have experienced a steady decline in the second half of the thirteenth century. Admittedly, some families, such as the Toucy and Aunoy, did find advancement at the Neapolitan court.[17] Others, such as the de la Roche, who, from their base in Attica, withheld homage for their holdings in the Argolid, were able to guard some of their freedoms and privileges.[18] These, however, constituted exceptions. An examination of the names of the chamberlains, treasurers, castellans, and other functionaries listed in the Angevin archives reveals that, apart from *bailli*s who governed from 1282 to 1289 and again from 1304 to 1308, practically all the officials of the

[14] For an analysis of this material, lost during the Second World War, see Hopf, vol. 1 (1867) 316, 317, 318, 320 and Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 155.

[15] 'he belonged to King Charles.'

[16] ' "I am lord and | Prince of Morea, and can govern by myself | knowing that my decrees will stand and not be defaulted upon, for I am beholden to no one" ' and ' "I have no sovereign above me". '

[17] See Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 149 and Dunbabin (1998) 192.

[18] See *Actes relatifs à la Principauté de Morée, 1289–1300*, ed. Perrat and Longnon (1967) 11–13.

Principality were foreigners with no Moreot connection—for the most part Italians, or Frenchmen or Provençals whose families had accompanied the Angevins during their descent into the Regno.[19]

A further complication occurred with the advent of the entourages of the husbands not only of Isabeau de Villehardouin, but of her daughter and niece, for Florent de Hainault, Philippe de Savoie, Louis de Bourgogne, and Ferrando de Mallorca all brought men with them from their native lands and gave them fiefs and offices (e.g. H vv.8653–866 and B §596; B §§848–53; Arag. §§583, 590, 600). An indicative example is that of the Fleming Gautier de Liedekerque, nephew to Florent de Hainault, who was lavishly provided for with the captaincy of Corinth (B §662 and Arag. §470). Similarly, the Burgundian Dreux de Charny received from Louis de Bourgogne the barony of Nivelet and the hand of the heiress of Vostitsa (Arag. §§624–7).

The duration and extent of this process of elimination of the old baronial families can be gauged from a list, dating to 1377, of the fiefs of the Peloponnese.[20] Of the forty castles enumerated in the Italian document, the Angevin Queen, Jeanne of Naples, held sixteen, the Church and the Hospitallers of Rhodes another ten,[21] while eighteen had passed to Italian families. Only seven remained in the hands of barons of French origin.[22] A single name, that of 'Nicola Alamagno', or Nicolas d'Aleman, belonged to a house whose origins dated back to the early thirteenth century. By 1377, the d'Aleman, formerly one of the twelve peers of the Principality and barons of Patras, had a sole castle in their possession, 'il castello de Sancto Elya' (p.690).

THE CRISIS OF THE 1320s

The situation in the Principality of Morea had become particularly acute by the early 1320s. The second decade of the fourteenth century had opened with the battle of Halmyros on 15 March 1311, which had decimated the ranks of the Moreot cavalry and resulted in the conquest by the Catalan Company of the Duchy of Athens, the most important of the Villehardouin appendages

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[19] See Hopf, vol. 1 (1867) 316–21 and Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 163.

[20] The document, located in the Maltese Archives, is published as an appendix in Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 689–91. More generally, for changes in the surnames of the holders of fiefs in the Morea, see Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 153, 160–3, 182–3, 195–6.

[21] It should be stressed that the churchmen named in the list do not appear to have belonged to the old aristocratic families of the Principality.

[22] For this observation, see Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 244.

(H vv.7274, 8010; B §§500, 548; Arag. §§509, 569; Ital. pp. 456, 461).[23] The same decade had also seen the death of Princess Isabeau de Villehardouin in exile in the Low Countries *c.*1311, followed by the outbreak of civil war in the heartland of the Principality during the years 1314–16, as Louis de Bourgogne and Ferrando de Mallorca, respectively the husbands of the Princess's eldest daughter, Mahaut de Hainault, and niece, Isabeau de Sabran, fought over the succession (B pp.403–4; Arag. §§555–635).[24] Neither of these parties was to succeed in their ambitions. By August 1316, the younger Isabeau, Ferrando and Louis were all dead, the woman in childbirth and the two men the victims of battle and covert assassination respectively. Mahaut, the only survivor, was taken against her will to Italy in 1317, and, when she refused to marry Jean d'Anjou, lord of Gravina and brother to King Robert of Naples, found herself disinherited in favour of the Angevins and imprisoned, languishing in the Castel dell'Uovo and subsequently at Aversa for over a decade until her demise in 1331.[25] Weakened by this internecine struggle, the lands of the Principality became a target for successive invasions. The Catalans first attempted to seize the Negropont and then raided the north-west Peloponnese.[26] Even more damaging were the territorial gains made by the Byzantines. In 1320, Andronicus Asen, the son of the Tsar of Bulgaria, John III, and of Irene Palaeologina, succeeded in capturing the baronial fortresses of Akova, otherwise known as Mattegriffon, and of Karytaina, together with a string of other lesser strongholds, such as those of Saint George and Polyphengos (B pp.404–5; Arag. §§642–54).[27]

These events resulted in widespread sentiments of disaffection. Judging the Angevins to be either unwilling or unable to defend their interests, the local nobility of the Principality of Morea sought an alternative remedy for their plight.[28] Already in June 1321, a group of prominent Moreots wrote to the Venetian doge Giovanni Soranzo. The signatories involved were Jean de Baux, *bailli* and Captain-General, Jacques, Bishop of Olena, and Benjamin of

[23] See also the letter of Marino Sanudo Torsello in Cerlini (1940) 352; Ramòn Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Gustà (1979) 122–4 (§240); Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, vol. 1, ed. Schopen (1829) 251. Details of the Catalan invasion are discussed in Miller (1908, repr. 1968) 211–32; Longnon (1949) 295–301; Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 187–8; Jacoby (1974) 223–30; Setton (rev. edn. 1975) 441–68.

[24] See Longnon (1949) 301–8 and, in more detail, Berg (1985).

[25] For the fate of Mahaut, see Hopf, vol. 1 (1867–8) 403; also Miller (1908, repr. 1968) 257–8, Lock (1995) 128.

[26] See *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301–1409)*, ed. Rubio y Lluch (1947, repr. 2001) 105–6.

[27] See also Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, vol. 1, ed. Schopen (1829) 362–3.

[28] For an analysis of this episode, see Longnon (1949) 312 and Bon, vol. 1 (1969) 202–4.

Kalamata, the Chancellor.[29] Drawing attention in their letter to the danger posed by the Byzantines and Catalans, and commenting upon the inadequate provisions made by the current masters of the Principality, they appealed for aid in highly emotive terms. 'Given the extremity of our plight', they wrote, 'and the insufficient provisions made by our lords, and also the attacks upon the [. . .] Principality [of Achaia] by enemies, both Greek and Catalan, who desire to occupy our territory and subjugate us to their jurisdiction, we are forced to take measures that will provide for our protection and security; and since we have heard that you and your countrymen are friends of justice and righteousness, we elect in our distress to join with you rather than with any other people', p.144).[30] Matters were taken further in subsequent correspondence dating to the same month, with the Moreots offering to cede the 'castle of Port-des-Joncs' in the bay of Navarino (p.146) in return for military support in the form of mercenaries and equipment.[31] In embarking upon negotiations with Venice, the Moreots appear to have been casting around in desperation for a protector with sufficient resources to halt the destruction of the Peloponnese.

It is in the 1320s that the core of the *Chronicle of Morea* probably took shape.[32] In H, the main external and internal threats to the continued existence of the Principality in the third decade of the fourteenth century are all identified. Apart from speaking of the Angevins in a manner that suggests anger and disillusionment, H is also openly hostile to Byzantine and Catalan plans for expansion, all the while reserving some approval for Venice.[33] Above all, as we have seen, H adopts a conciliatory attitude toward the native Greek population.[34] That such an attitude was characteristic of the Latin nobility of the Morea in the 1320s is confirmed by an encyclical letter issued by the papacy on 1 October 1322. An increase is remarked upon by Pope John XXII in occurrences both of mixed marriages and of conversions to the Orthodox rite within aristocratic Moreot circles.[35] Thus, of the extant manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea*, we may judge that it is H which

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[29] See *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301–1409)*, ed. Rubio y Lluch (1947) 144–6.

[30] 'Considerantes debilem statum nostrum et modicam provisionem dominorum nostrorum, ac inimicorum [. . .] principatus [Achaye] tam Grecorum quam Catellanorum impulsus, qui terram nostram occupare nituntur et nos sue juridicioni subjicere, cogimur nobis de salubri statu et custodia providere; et quare vos et gentem vestram amicam equitatis et justicie reputamus, perelegimus vobiscum pocius quam cum alia gente que nos requirat solicite convenire.'

[31] 'castrum Junci.'

[32] See Chapter 1.

[33] See Chapter 2 and Chapter 8; also above and, for the Catalans, H vv.7270–300, 8091–2 and, perhaps, vv.2472–625.

[34] See Chapter 9.

[35] See Hopf, vol. 1 (1867–8) 406.

preserves the text closest to the mood prevalent in the Peloponnese at this time. The same elements are not found together in any of the other versions.

THE IDYLL OF A LOST AGE

Unable to reconcile themselves to an irreversible decline of status and function, some members of the Moreot nobility, such as Aimon de Rans, lord of Chalandritsa, are recorded as simply selling up and leaving (Arag. §627). The concerns of those who stayed put appear to have found expression in the original *Chronicle of Morea*. It is likely that historiography experienced a burgeoning in the Peloponnese precisely because it provided reassurance at a moment of deep social and political upheaval. Masquerading as historical fact, a fantasy concerning a glorious collective past was expounded at length.[36] The idyll 'remembered' by the *Chronicle of Morea* was one (if H can be relied upon in this regard) in which the autonomy of the Principality was exalted. Latin knights and Greek *archondes*, conquerors and conquered, had, we are told, once lived in concord and been united by a commonality of purpose, sharing the same Moreot identity. Moreover, the reigns of the Villehardouin dynasty had, it is maintained, been lawful and beneficial, for their regime had displayed a willingness to acknowledge aristocratic power, with institutions being established that put an emphasis on consultative government.

The impetus for the construction of such a narrative could conceivably have come from the Villehardouin dynasty, or at least from one of its last remaining descendants. A possible reading of the *Chronicle of Morea* is to understand it as a rallying-cry to the cause of the dispossessed Mahaut de Hainault (H vv.7279, 7983; B §§546, 827, pp.403–4; Arag. §§486, 506, 518, 537, 572–635).[37] Certainly, there was continued support for the Villehardouin Princess in the Principality throughout the 1320s. This is shown by the terms of the replies made by King Robert of Naples to Guillaume, Count of Hainault in 1324 and to the French King himself, Charles le Bel, in 1325, when

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[36] See above, Chapter 9. This perspective on the events of the thirteenth century was, of course, not entirely accurate. Within the *Chronicle* itself, mention is made of a series of uprisings by the peoples of Escorta and the other native populations of the Peloponnese against the Latin conquest and continued occupation (e.g. H vv.4584–93 and B §333; P vv.5620–35). There are also hints of a drive for centralization by the Villehardouin and of frequent attempts to break the power of individual magnates (e.g. H vv.3173–463 and B §§220–53). The chronicler, however, was less concerned with what we would envisage as the truth, than with a desire to approximate the 'Truth' of an avowed ideal.

[37] This hypothesis is briefly considered in Furon (2004) 146.

these men attempted to intervene on behalf of their kinswoman. Robert claimed to regret Mahaut's continued imprisonment, but declared that he could not free her 'without causing an upheaval in Achaia' ('sans tourbacion des parties d'Achaye'), suggesting fears on the part of the Angevins that the release of the young Princess would jeopardize their grip on Southern Greece.[38] However, the personal circumstances of the imprisoned Mahaut meant that she could not herself have actively commissioned the work. Forced to treat with the Angevins, but finding that their interests were not being adequately served, it may be that the Moreot aristocracy saw in the young Princess a Villehardouin who still possessed the potency of a symbol. Indeed, this last scion of the ruling dynasty may have been all the more attractive because she was denuded of real political power. As a figurehead, Mahaut could be used in the aristocracy's bid to preserve their independence. The reigns of her forebears, moreover, if suitably written up, could serve as confirmation of aristocratic values, offering up an image of a non-hegemonic form of government that could be opposed to the absolutist aspirations of the Angevins. Certain aspects of the ideology articulated within the *Chronicle* admittedly seem to have been long in their gestation, and can, perhaps, be attributed to Guillaume II de Villehardouin and his predecessors.[39] Moreot identity, it may be suggested, was elaborated over more than one generation, gradually acquiring resonance among the inhabitants of the Principality. Even so, as a textual creation, the *Chronicle of Morea* itself does not appear to represent an attempt by the Villehardouin to make their rule palatable to the aristocracy. The genesis of the work would seem, rather, to have come from within the aristocracy itself.

In reality, by the 1320s it was already too late for such historiographical measures. Virtually all the old aristocratic houses founded at the conquest of Southern Greece had already been extinguished. Yet there were some, such as the le Maure, who wished, however inaccurately, to think of themselves as belonging to the old stock. The le Maure, whose appearance in the Peloponnese is first recorded in 1281, were the only Moreot barons to maintain their standing intact into the second and third quarters of the fourteenth century.[40] Tracing their descent through the maternal line, they proudly claimed that the blood of the de Briel, de Neuilly, de Rosières, d'Aunoy, and de Cors flowed in their veins. It is almost certain that it was for the le Maure, relative newcomers but with pretensions to the grandest of Moreot pedigrees, that the latest single text from which all the extant manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea* are descended—the common ancestor—came into being.[41] The reigns of the

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[38] For details, see Longnon (1949) 313.   [39] See Chapter 9.
[40] See Hopf (1873) 472.   [41] See Chapter 1.

Villehardouin were used as an organizing grid for the narration of the past, but into that grid were inserted at prominent positions the lineages of the main aristocratic families with whom the le Maure professed kinship. Within such a Moreot household, and perhaps even in this very one, the *Chronicle* must also have been initially created. Indeed, we are conceivably dealing merely with an extended process of composition by a single author of what was fundamentally one and the same text.[42]

As a historiographic undertaking, the *Chronicle of Morea* originated, therefore, with a lost cause. In the face of adverse and irreversible change, a remedy was sought in a story. Principles and beliefs that had been rendered increasingly irrelevant were displaced, together with thwarted ambitions, to a textual locus, as imagination provided the last refuge. Yet there was more to it than this. The past of the Principality became the repository of the dreams and desires of the aristocracy because it not only offered up a consoling image of what had been and was no longer, but because it could claim to contain within itself the elements by which to reopen the struggle. Current and future generations were called upon to return to the ethos of their ancestors and to emulate their deeds (H vv.1349–55): ‛ἂν ἔχῃς ὄρεξιν νὰ ἀκούῃς πρᾶξες καλῶν στρατιώτων, | [...] | [...] ἐλπίζω, ἂν εἶσαι φρόνιμος, ὅτι νὰ διαφορήσῃς, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀφήγησες ἐκείνων τῶν παλαίων, | ὅπου ἤλθασιν μετὰ ἐκεινῶν, ἐπρόκοψαν μεγάλως.’[43]

A CONTESTED PAST

An inherent problem with the historiographic enterprise embarked upon by the Moreot aristocracy was the chosen subject-matter of the work. Concerned with exactly that which was most at stake—the Principality of Morea—the narrative could not restrict itself to the supposed certainties and unified values embodied in a suitably distanced past of the foundation of the Crusader State, but found itself obliged to extend its project to include contemporary events. To do otherwise would have been to accept the finality of the loss of status experienced by the aristocracy. For the chronicler and his intended audience, it would have meant acknowledging the twilight of an era. At all costs such historical rupture needed to be avoided or at least dissimulated. So

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[42] See Chapter 1.

[43] ‘And, if you are desirous of hearing about the deeds of worthy soldiers, | [...] | [...] I trust that, if you are wise, you shall learn [from my tale], | for many have profited greatly | from the stories of those of old | although they themselves were born after the time of the ancestors’.

as not to enact the end of the Principality of Morea within the *Chronicle* itself, the text had to be left inconclusive. It had to cover not only the 'then', but also the still undecided 'now', and even contain assertions of hope for the future. Paradoxically, this very lack of narrative closure was to prove fatal, for it encouraged the proliferation of subsequent textual versions. It laid the claims of the aristocracy open to reinterpretation.

Once created, the *Chronicle of Morea* inevitably became a site for the negotiation of competing interests. Of the successive reworkings of the story, each set forth an updated understanding of the political forces active in Southern Greece. Each, moreover, represented the codification and ratification of the values and aspirations of a different patron or a different public. The multiple versions can be shown to have been written in the service of certain causes. In all the recensions except H, a Moreot identity shared between Latins and Greeks was considered less relevant and thus found itself relegated to oblivion. Associated with the royal court of Naples and, more specifically, with the activities of Catherine de Valois as Regent of the Principality of Morea, the French version of the *Chronicle* (B) presents an interpretation of events that is largely favourable towards the Angevins. This is achieved, on the one hand, by the suppression of explicit diatribes against the dynasty (e.g. §§500, 590), and, on the other, by the interpolation of positive statements referring to Charles d'Anjou, Philip of Tarento, and to Catherine herself ('le bon roi Charle le veillart', §415; 'le bon roi/roy/roys Charle', §§434, 498, 558, 587; 'li bons rois', §436; 'au bon roy Charle', §437; 'dou bon roy Charle', §460; '[le] très excerlent et noble homme messire Philippe de Tharente', §86; 'la très excerlente dame qui ores s'appelle empereys', §86; 'A mil .iij^{c}x. ans, la .ixe. indicion, ala le prince de Tharante en France, pour prandre a femme et espouse la tres noble dame madame Katerine, la fille de monseignor Charles, le frere dou roy de France, et de la fille jadis de l'empereur Bauduins de Costantinople', pp.402–3).[44] For its part, the Aragonese version (Arag.), commissioned by the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller, Juan Fernández de Heredia, displays a preoccupation not only with the immediate events that led to the leasing of the Principality to the Order of Saint John of the Hospital in 1377, but also with the deeds more generally of natives of the Iberian peninsula. Thus, included in this text are references to matters

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[44] 'good King Charles the Elder'; 'good King Charles'; 'the good King'; 'to good King Charles'; 'of good King Charles'; 'the most excellent and noble man Sir Philippe da Taranto'; 'the most excellent lady who is today called Empress'; 'In the year one thousand three hundred and ten, the ninth indiction, the Prince of Taranto went to France to take as wife and consort the most noble lady Madame Catherine, the daughter of Sir Charles, the brother of the King of France, and of the late daughter of the Emperor Bauduin of Constantinople.' See also Chapter 3.

such as the marriage contracted by Jean de Brienne to 'the sister of the king of Spain' ('la ermana del rey de Espanya', §81), while lengthier episodes are also inserted that deal, among other things, with the thousand Spaniards ('Espayoles', §56) who, *en route* to Jerusalem, aided the Nicene Emperor, Theodore Laskaris, against the Sultan of Seljuk Rum ('soldan de Persia', §55).[45] The entire account culminates with the dispatch to the Peloponnese as *bailli* of Daniel del Carretto, the representative of the Hospitallers (§724). These alterations to the content were reinforced by the physical appearance of the manuscript, with care being taken to provide appropriate illustrations, decorated initials serving to draw attention to specific episodes, such as the leasing of the Principality to the Hospital (fo. 257v.).[46] Finally, the Italian version (Ital.), which was apparently produced by an individual with strong ties to Venice, exhibits a heightened interest in the institutions and governmental structures of that city, inserting a number of passages on the subject. A speech attributed to Doge Enrico Dandolo, for instance, is expanded to include an impassioned defence of the Venetian Republic ('Commune di Venezia', p.419). Other related topics which are dwelt upon include the allocation to the Venetians of territories at the partition of the provinces of the Byzantine Empire (p.420), and the establishment of a military alliance between the Serenissima and the Villehardouin rulers of the Principality (p.435).

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[45] The event referred to in Arag. is the battle on 17 June 1211 at Antioch-on-the-Maeander, but the account appears to contain legendary material that may be attributed to a process of conflation with more recent tales of the victory of a crusader force against the Turks at Smyrna on 24 June 1346/7. This means that the episode was added to the *Chronicle of Morea* after 1346/7, and must almost certainly, therefore, be the work of the redactor of the Aragonese version. For an analysis of the two battles and an evaluation of the primary sources, see Savvides (1981) 94–111 and Jorga (1896, repr. 1973) 52–3.

[46] See Luttrell (*c*.2006) n.6. Heraldic motifs drawn to accompany the text, moreover, bear coats of arms supposedly referring to protagonists within the narrative, such as Guillaume de Champlitte, but are in fact modelled on the crest of one of the royal houses of the Iberia, with whom the de Heredia family had ties of service (e.g. fos. 197r.–v., 198v.). Castles very similar to those depicted in the manuscript are the main characteristic of the coat of arms of the rulers of Castile. The parents of the Grand Master had served in this royal household, with his father, García Fernández de Heredia, acting as *mayordomo* to Leonor de Castile and his mother, Urraca Maça de Vergua, most probably belonging to the same princess's entourage. It should be noted, even so, that the crest of the de Heredia also incorporated the same motif, almost certainly as the result of a royal permit, and it may be that the illustrator of the manuscript was merely seeking to pay a compliment to his patron. Either way, however, an attempt to make the text of the *Chronicle of Morea* relevant to a new socio-political context is evident.

Byzantinization

These metamorphoses of the *Chronicle of Morea* were not always accompanied outright by acts of translation. A most interesting case is that of the recension preserved in manuscript 2898 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. If the *Chronicle* was initially composed in Greek in order to foster loyalty to the occupying regime, this recension (P) reveals the success of the endeavour to have been partial at best. Its redactor, while maintaining linguistic integrity, has substantially recast the narrative in order to produce a text that could be passed off as somewhat more congenial to the cultural and political concerns of individuals who identified on an ideological level with the Byzantines. As a consequence, a number of passages that could be construed to be of an inflammatory nature have been excised from the revised text. Among the content censored was that of three tirades commenting in negative terms upon the intrigues at the imperial court of Constantinople on the eve of the city's conquest by the Latins, as well as upon the subsequent conduct of the rulers of Nicaea and Epirus: the relevant remarks have been extensively edited, with very little of their earlier content being retained (vv.757–65; vv.1245–8, 1256–2; vv.3932–3). In the same vein were a series of further textual interventions. Of these, especially striking was the decision to replace references to the Latins as 'our people' or '$\tau \grave{o} \nu \ \lambda \alpha \acute{o} \nu \ \mu \alpha s$' with the turn of phrase 'their people' or '$\tau \grave{o} \nu \ \lambda \alpha \acute{o} \nu \ \tau o v s$' (e.g. v.636).[47] Elsewhere, seventeen passages have been eliminated that either remarked disrespectfully upon Byzantine imperial authority or portrayed in a negative light military campaigns organized by Byzantine commanders (vv.629, 841–80, 1719–21, 1748–50, 2049, 2061, 3537–612, 3931, 4776–82, 4792, 4838–43, 4847–50, 4875–96, 5430–84, 5550–1, 6663–74), while, conversely, two passages have been inserted which emphasize the military prowess of Byzantine troops by stating that the Franks were driven back 'a good bowshot' ('$\H{\epsilon} \nu \alpha \ \delta o \xi \acute{o} \beta o \lambda o \nu \ \kappa \alpha \lambda \grave{o} \nu$', v.5390), and then 'struck down like wild fowl by hawks' ('$o \H{v} \tau \omega s \ \tau o \grave{v} s \ \grave{\epsilon} \sigma \acute{v} \nu \tau \rho \iota \beta \alpha \nu \ \grave{\omega} s \ \phi \acute{\alpha} \lambda \kappa o \nu \epsilon s \ \kappa o v \rho o \tilde{v} \nu \epsilon s$', v.5391) and utterly 'slaughtered' ('$\grave{\epsilon} \sigma \phi \acute{\alpha} \zeta \alpha \nu$', v.5379). Thus, whereas the account of the loss of Constantinople by the Byzantines is almost completely expunged, by contrast, that of a momentary setback faced by the Latins during the battle of Macry Plagi is emphasized, with the episode being expanded and fleshed out.

Other features that can be said to characterize the text of P include a reduced interest in matters pertaining to feudalism (vv.2609, 2612, 3366, 5851–934, 8043, 8604), together with an attitude to certain aspects of the papacy that is dismissive, perhaps even disapproving (vv.480, 511, 6216–18,

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[47] See Adamantiou (1901) 522–3 and Jacoby (1968, repr. 1975) VII, 158.

6863–9, 7518). Indeed, passages whose objective is to expound upon the ideals of vassalage or assert papal primacy tend to be omitted from the recension. Also of significance is the suppression from the body of the text of genealogical explanations referring to the baronial houses of the crusader territories (vv.1322–5 and 3153–73), and insertion instead of rubrics containing equivalent information regarding important Byzantine dynasties (Ἀλέξιος αὐτάδελφος Ἰσάκου', 'Κὺρ Σάκης ὁ Βατάτζης', 'Ἀλέξιος υἱὸς Ἰσάκου', fo. 117v.; 'Ἰωάννης Βατάτζης', fo. 125r.; 'Θεόδωρος Λάσκαρις βασιλεὺς γαμβρὸς τοῦ κὺρ Σάκη τοῦ Βατάτζη', fo. 127v.; 'Μιχαὴλ Παλαιολόγος γίνεται βασιλεύς', fo. 128r.).[48] The cumulative effect of these myriad alterations and revisions, some of which are extensive, and others more restricted, is to overlay the original narrative with a world-view at variance to it.

Thus, although composed by its author as a vehicle for the expression of the preoccupations of the Moreot aristocracy, the subject-matter of the *Chronicle of Morea* made it an exceedingly attractive target for subsequent redactors adhering to other ideologies. In none of extant versions of the work, it should be acknowledged, has the process of transforming the core material of the *Chronicle* been carried out with complete consistency. Thus, B retains a number of episodes whose thrust is anti-Angevin (§§596, 598, 604, 1007), while Arag. does not succeed in entirely eliminating jibes against 'the king of Aragon' ('el rey d'Aragon', §§192–207). Similarly, in Ital., the account of the war of 1256–7 between Guillaume de Villehardouin and Venice over claims to the Negropont preserves a Moreot slant (pp.438–40). Most awkward of all is P, whose redactor often embarks upon a straightforward copy of a particular passage—only to realize a little later that the lines in question include undesirable content (e.g. vv.758–65)—and consequently then breaks off suddenly, skipping in haste to a more appropriate episode.[49] Nonetheless, despite these imperfections and blunders on the part of the individuals carrying out the task of re-writing, the general objective of the modifications undertaken can be all too clearly discerned. It is, perhaps, one of the finer ironies in medieval historiography that the creation of the original *Chronicle*, far from ushering in a return to an idyllic age of concord and good government, merely resulted in an extension of the contest over the Principality of Morea from

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[48] 'Alexius brother of Isaac', 'Lord Isaac Vatatzes', 'Alexius son of Isaac'; 'John Vatatzes'; 'Theodore Laskaris son-in-law of Lord Isaac Vatatzes'; 'Michael Palaeologus becomes emperor.' Other rubrics, referring to westerners, although present in P, are both rarer and found in the main body of the next, rather than placed more prominently in the margins.

[49] Indeed, such is the confused nature of this recension at certain points, that 'Φράγκους' or 'Φράγκων' is sometimes written where 'Ρωμαίων' or 'Ρωμαίους' is actually meant, rendering it necessary for a word to be crossed out and replaced (e.g. fos. 111v.; 179v.).

diplomatic embassy and battlefield into the realm of literature. Each of the major powers in the eastern Mediterranean presented its own vision of history through the elaboration of its own version of the *Chronicle of Morea.* In so doing, these powers made their own promises for the future of the state founded, nurtured, and lost by the crusaders. The fate of the Peloponnese was fought out also on the written page.

Conclusion to Part Three

The story of the successive reigns of the Villehardouin—told in the pages of manuscript H of the *Chronicle of Morea*—is also a story of the emergence among the inhabitants of the Principality of a common identity in which both Latins and Greeks were able to share. This insistence upon the creation of a collective of mixed ethnicity can be associated with the articulation of sentiments of proto-nationalism. A comparison with other historiography from the late medieval eastern Mediterranean reveals that we are dealing with a pervasive trend. Two further histories produced in vernacular Greek within areas ruled by westerners, the anonymous *Chronicle of Tocco* and the *Recital of the Sweet Land of Cyprus* by Leontios Machairas, were equally preoccupied with the promotion of regional identities. The impact of the crusading movement had been profound: out of the crumbling remains of Byzantium, a world had gradually materialized of small states and colonies. A single court or socio-political centre had been replaced by what can only be described as a proliferation of power-bases, each with its own interests to uphold. In this transformed environment, recourse to a language that had much in common with the living, spoken tongue of the locality and therefore necessitated no formal education for it to be immediately comprehensible would have constituted a move of particular astuteness. Such a language provided a previously unexploited vehicle that was eminently suitable for the transmission of the set of beliefs advocated by a new breed of historiographers.

The ideology of the *Chronicle of Morea* cannot be considered independently of the issue of the evolution of the work. Analysis in the preceding chapters has focused largely upon the single manuscript (H) whose message is firmly anchored in the locality. More so than B, Arag., Ital., or even P, it is H that declares itself to be an indigenous product of 'Moreot' historiography. Although neither the core or first authorial draft that was being penned when the work began to take shape, nor indeed the common ancestor or manuscript from which all subsequent copies are descended, this exemplar in Greek constitutes the most authoritative text to be handed down to us. Elements in the other versions are indicative of the appropriation of the *Chronicle* by interests external to the Principality. One after another, redactors whose

sympathies lay with the Angevins of Naples, with Aragon, Venice, or even Byzantium attempted programmes of revision, some of which were more skilfully executed than others.

It is likely that the core of the *Chronicle of Morea* was taking shape already in the 1320s. The campaign of the imperial general Andronicus Asen in the central Peloponnese at the beginning of this decade could have provided the major impetus. Certainly, indications regarding both the chronological scope and the almost hysterical anti-Byzantine attitude of the *Chronicle* suggest this. In part, the intention of the work may have been to galvanize the inhabitants of the Peloponnese into a better defence of the frontier zone. However, the crisis faced by the Principality of Morea was not confined to the military victories and annexations achieved by the Empire. The power and status of the old aristocracy had come under threat from a number of different quarters. In this context, reassurance and redress seems to have been sought in the alliance between settlers and natives—between the Latin knights and the Greek *archondes* of the Peloponnese. As long as both groups subscribed to a Moreot identity, they would have a joint cause to defend. Defections, however, had already occurred. Consequently, it became a matter of vital importance that such an identity be articulated in a convincing and widely accessible manner. The *Chronicle of Morea* thus originated with an ideological initiative on the part of an elite confronted with its own demise. As such, this work of historiography desired to serve a cause that was already all but lost.

Yet, if the *Chronicle* proved unable to reverse the political and social decline of the aristocracy that created it, certain aspects of the values and beliefs which the work had clothed in written expression were to display considerable tenacity. The notion, in particular, of the Peloponnese as an autonomous territory was not quickly forgotten. In the last decade of the fourteenth century, following the request of the ruler of Piedmont, Count Amadeo di Savoia, that the Moreots recognize him as their lord and prince, a reply sent on behalf of all the noblemen of the Principality by Pietro di Santo Superano, Captain and Vicar-General, gave a resounding rebuttal to the claims of the house of Savoy and emphasized the desire of the Moreots for self-government and freedom from external interference.[1]

Later still, in the early fifteenth century, it was the survival of these same sentiments of attachment to the *patria*, and memories of a former polity encompassing the entire Peloponnese, that the scholar and philosopher

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[1] The letter sent to Amadeo in 1391 was written on behalf of 'prelati barones milites et nobiles ligy Principatus Achaie' ('the prelates, barons, knights and liege men of the Principality of Achaia'). For a commentary on the letter, see Datta, vol. 1 (1832) 272–3, and, for the text itself, vol. 2 (1832) 269–70.

George Gemistos Plethon reacted to when he penned his own programme for a quasi-independent state in the peninsula.[2] The crucial difference, however, was that the state imagined by Plethon in his treatises, unlike the Villehardouin Principality of the *Chronicle of Morea*, was to have been Hellenic. One of Plethon's early works, the Περὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πραγμάτων, represents an attempt by an émigré from Constantinople to come to grips with the awkward legacy bequeathed by the Principality of Morea upon the Despotate of Mistra, the Palaeologan polity that gradually supplanted it. This short text, composed *c.*1418 following a series of triumphant military campaigns by the Palaeologoi, describes in its opening paragraphs the areas of the Aegean that had passed under Byzantine control as a single land or country which comprised the Peloponnese, together with the portion of the mainland adjacent to it, and also the nearby islands (pp.247–8).[3] The boundaries designated in this description echo territorial claims that had previously been made under the Villehardouin. Indeed, the text goes on to indicate explicitly that the area in question had earlier been 'entirely in the possession of Westerners, who governed it for a considerable length of time, until they were driven out' by members of the Palaeologan dynasty, who then began to reign there (p.250).[4] Yet, while the existence of a geographic connection between the two polities is admitted by Plethon, this does not mean that he allows for the possibility of more substantial similarities. Instead of embracing the crusader past of the region, the author declares 'We are Hellenes by race, as both our language and the culture handed down to us by our fathers testify' (p.247),[5] adding that, according to his reckoning, no place can be considered more appropriate to the Hellenes, nor indeed any exist to which the Hellenes are more closely bound than the Peloponnese and its dependencies (p.247). 'It is evident', he then goes on to assert, 'that the same Hellenes have always lived here since time immemorial, and no other people have inhabited this land before them, or, arriving there afterwards, taken it from them by force as often happens with invaders who come from elsewhere, installing themselves in their new land, driving out others, and then in turn suffer the same fate at the hands of still others; on the contrary, it appears that the Hellenes have always been masters of their own land and, setting out from there to conquer, seized

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[2] For a commentary on the writings of Plethon, see Woodhouse (1986), and in particular 79–118.

[3] See George Gemistos Plethon, 'Εἰς Μανουὴλ Παλαιολόγον περὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πραγμάτων', Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά , vol. 3, ed. Lambros (1926, repr. 1972) 247–8.

[4] 'Κεκρατηκότων γὰρ Ἰταλῶν τῆς δε τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐπὶ πολύν τινα χρόνον συμπάσης δυναστευόντων, οὐδένες ἄλλοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας οἰκίας βασιλεῖς ταύτην φαίνονται ἀνειληφότες'.

[5] 'Ἐσμὲν γὰρ οὖν ὧν ἡγεῖσθέ τε καὶ βασιλεύετε Ἕλληνες τὸ γένος, ὡς ἥ τε φωνὴ καὶ ἡ πάτριος παιδεία μαρτυρεῖ.'

not inconsiderable territories belonging to others, without however abandoning this land of theirs' (p.248).[6] The recent period of foreign occupation of the Aegean is thus initially admitted to in the Περὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πραγμάτων, then rejected as an aberration that had prevented the region from pursuing its true destiny.

In this period at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, the old Moreot alliance between Greek *archondes* and Latin knights against the Byzantines did not merely linger on in a weakened form, but continued to be perceived in some quarters as constituting the best means of preserving political privileges and guaranteeing independence. It is striking that a verse inscription written by a supporter of the Byzantine regime *c.*1389 at the Church of the Virgin Mary at Parori, a village in the ambit of Mistra, railed against the fact that Palaeologan authority faced considerable hostility from a group of local Greek magnates, whose actions placed into question the reverence owed to their forefathers and brought dishonour upon their own times (vv.14–16).[7] These individuals, 'siding with the Latins', fought, we are told, against the Despot of Mistra, preferring 'to remove him from power, and to drive him out from the land, or indeed to send him to his death, rather than to accept him as their master' (vv.11–13).[8] Similarly, *c.*1415 the *Journey to Hades*, a satirical work produced by a Constantinopolitan, claimed that Moreot noblemen devoted their whole lives to turning Byzantine affairs topsy-turvy, delighting 'in war and rebellion and, above all, the shedding of blood' (p.82).[9] The text alleges that these noblemen were vile traitors who 'rose up in impudence and insolence' and, exchanging pledges and holding secret meetings, went so far as to conspire against their Palaeologan rulers,

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[6] 'Ταύτην γὰρ δὴ φαίνονται τὴν χώραν Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ οἰκοῦντες οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐξ ὅτου περ ἄνθρωποι διαμνημονεύουσιν, οὐδενῶν ἄλλων προενῳκηκότων οὐδὲ ἐπήλυδες κατασχόντες, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας μὲν ὡρμημένοι, ἑτέραν δὲ οἰκοῦσι κατασχόντες ἄλλους τε ἐκβαλόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρων τὸ αὐτὸ ἔστιν ὅτε πεπονθότες, ἀλλ' Ἕλληνες τήνδε τὴν χώραν τοὐναντίον αὐτοί τε ἀεὶ φαίνονται κατέχοντες καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι περιουσίᾳ οἰκητόρων ἑτέρας τε οὐκ ὀλίγας κατασχόντες, οὔτε ταύτην ἐκλιπόντες.'

[7] Millet (1899) 152. This inscription, composed in the πολιτικὸς στίχος of fifteen syllables, was apparently found in columnar fashion on plaques in the north porch of the church, where it was intended to be read from left to right, a line at a time, starting with the top line of the first column, and then moving on to the top line of the second, and so on. Copied by Michael Fourmont *c.*1730, the poem is today lost due to the destruction of the monument which housed it.

[8] Millet (1899) 151–3: 'ἅπαντ' ἔπραττον ἐκβαλεῖν τε τοῦ θρόνου | τοῦτον θέλοντες ἐκφυγεῖν τῶν ἐνθάδε | ἢ θανατῶσαι καὶ ἀδεσπότως μένειν. | ... | γράψαντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς λατίνοις ὦ δίκη | μεθ' ὧν ἅπανθ' ὑπήκοον κατεκρίζουν.'

[9] *Mazaris' Journey to Hades*, ed. Smithies, Share, *et al.* (1975): 'οἱ μάχαις μὲν ἀεὶ χαίροντες καὶ ταραχαῖς, φόνιον δ' ἐς ἀεὶ πνέοντες.'

threatening to do away with them either 'with arms and in a pitched battle' or, if that failed, 'by covert assassination.'[10] It may be concluded that, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the aristocracy which had flourished during the era of the Villehardouin nursed a deep resentment towards all individuals who were imported from the Queen of Cities in order to staff the military and administrative apparatus of government in Mistra. Indeed, these recent arrivals from Constantinople were apparently referred to by some of the locals with deep contempt and mistrust as 'Orientals' ('Ἀνατολικούς').[11] The re-conquest of the Peloponnese by the Byzantines took the form of a terrible war of attrition that altogether lasted for nearly two hundred years. It was only in 1430 that the city of Patras, the last outpost of the Principality of Morea, finally fell.

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[10] Ibid. 'οὗτοι [. . .] ἀναιδῶς ἐπανέστησαν [. . .] καὶ ὅρκους καὶ συμβούλια χαλεπὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέθεντο καὶ δόλους κατὰ τοῦ γενναιοτάτου βασιλέως ἔρραψαν [. . .] τοῦτον [. . .] διαχειρίσαι ἐκαυχήσαντο ἢ κρύφα ἢ μεθ' ὅπλων καὶ στρατιᾶς'.

[11] Ibid. 86.

General Conclusion

The *Chronicle of Morea* recounts the events of the Fourth Crusade and of the ensuing conquest and occupation of the Byzantine Empire. At the centre of the work is the story of the formation of the Principality of Morea in Southern Greece and the Peloponnese. As a repository of fact, the account cannot be relied upon, for the depiction of 'reality' which it offers is never innocent. Yet, the very nature of the *Chronicle* as historiography—a locus of textual strategies that can be analysed and deconstructed—means that it affords us an invaluable insight into the thought-world of the late Middle Ages. This study has compared the various extant versions of the *Chronicle*, identified the resources and pressures that contributed to the development of the work, and shed light on the nature of the lost archetype which lies behind the surviving manuscripts. In seeing how the author and subsequent redactors interpreted and transformed their material, we gain a sense of the aspirations and anxieties of the societies in which the work was composed, transmitted and received.

THE LOST ARCHETYPE

The core of the *Chronicle of Morea* appears to have begun to exist by approximately the mid-1320s. There then followed a further stage of initial elaboration, which lasted several years, perhaps even as long as two decades (*c.*1326–*c.*1346), and culminated in the establishment of the common ancestor—in the formation, in other words, of the text from which all the current versions are descended. Although no actual exemplar is extant from this period, analysis of the evidence provided by such manuscripts as do survive enables a detailed reconstruction of the characteristics of the work in its earliest incarnation. Thus, the methods of composition employed for the creation of the *Chronicle* can be identified. Indeed, it is possible not only to isolate the constitutive material upon which the narrative was based, but also to give an account of the type of discourse adopted in the exposition of that narrative. Although the contributions made to the content of the early

Chronicle by information either derived from the personal experiences of the author or gleaned from conversations with contemporaries should not be underestimated, to a large extent the work may be described as a compilation from a range of written antecedents. Of the documentary sources used, the most consulted were the *Assizes of Romania*, while recourse was also had to records of court hearings, to a register of fiefs, to deeds and charters, and, finally, to three documents concerned with Angevin dealings with the Ville-hardouin dynasty. Of the narrative sources, the most notable was the *Eracles*, a translation of the *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* of William of Tyre. In addition, some awareness is shown of an account of the Fourth Crusade based upon Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople*; of a narrative recording the end of Hohenstaufen rule and the conquest of Italy by Charles d'Anjou; and, finally, of a heroic poem recounting the deeds of the Baron of Karytaina, Geoffroy de Briel, or de Bruyères.

In handling this material, a conscious choice appears to have been made to combine the mnemonic devices, bold diction, and vibrant narratorial voice inherited from orality with the accessibility of the local Greek vernacular. As a result, the *Chronicle of Morea* represented something of a literary innovation. Its properties prefigured, to an extent, those of the *Recital of the Sweet Land of Cyprus* by Leontios Machairas and of the anonymous *Chronicle of Tocco*, histories from western-occupied Cyprus and Epirus dating to the fifteenth century, while further narratives of similar nature continued to be produced in areas such as the Venetian colony of Crete well into the modern period. The valorization of Greek oral tradition and the fostering of that tradition as a written literary form can in fact be shown to have been typical of the western regimes that came to control the former provinces of Byzantium during the crusading era. Indeed, the late Middle Ages marked a radical departure for the genre of historiography in the eastern Mediterranean. The period not only saw the composition of the first historical writings in a neglected linguistic register, but also witnessed the discovery of an ideological perspective that was no longer imbued with imperialism: avoidance of the learned classicizing tendencies of the Byzantines coincided with the rejection of a world centred upon Constantinople.

New aesthetic concerns, therefore, can be identified as a corollary of change in the objectives of those who commissioned, produced, and consumed historical writings at this time. The *Chronicle of Morea* may be seen as an attempt to engage with the need to create a usable past, one that not only could vindicate the conquest of the Byzantine Empire, but could present the resultant situation as something other than an ongoing occupation. It is no coincidence that, in its earliest form, the work would seem to have been concerned primarily with an exposition of Moreot identity, offering in its

pages a portrait of a community that was divided from other communities and characterized by political autonomy as well as by a territory it regarded as its own.

A primitive sense of nationhood seems to have gradually emerged in the Peloponnese, which, however, was finally committed to writing as a historical narrative only at a period in which the Principality of Morea faced extreme crisis. In the fourteenth century, external threats existed from several quarters: Angevin, Catalan, and, especially, Byzantine. An attempt to counter these threats resulted in the promotion of a political and social alliance between Latin knights and Greek *archondes*, between the increasingly naturalized settlers and the indigenous inhabitants. It would have become crucial under such circumstances to articulate a collective ideology in which both ethno-religious groups could share. This, it can be argued, was the main motivation behind the genesis of the *Chronicle of Morea*. Indeed, the immediate impetus may have been provided by the events of the campaign of the imperial general Andronicus Asen in the central Peloponnese in 1320, which had resulted in the loss of a string of fortresses to Byzantium. A crushing defeat, accompanied by the certain knowledge that worse was yet to come, resulted in the elaboration—out of truths, half-truths, and outright fantasies—of a tale of the glories of a former golden age. The evocation of an idyllic past was no doubt intended to console; beyond that, however, the heroic deeds attributed to 'those of old' appear to have been held up as models worthy of emulation by current and future generations.

The *Chronicle* should be understood both as the product of a particular context, and as an agent at work in that context. Above all, it appears to have been a vehicle for the expression of the preoccupations of the aristocracy of the Morea. Indeed, a connection can be shown to have arisen early on between the work and one particular noble family, that of the le Maure, barons of Arcadia and lords of Saint Sauveur. The work may well have been the result of active patronage on the part of this house. The le Maure, although relative newcomers to Greece, would seem not only to have taken great pride in the deeds of the old families with whom they intermarried, but also to have laid great store in tracing, via the maternal line, their own pretensions to the grandest of local pedigrees. The image they promoted of themselves was that of members of the established elite of the Principality.

The author of the *Chronicle*, who remains anonymous for us, was active during the last decades of the thirteenth and the first decades of the four-teenth centuries. He is revealed to have been an individual with an extensive familiarity with and attachment to the landscape, customs, and people of the Peloponnese. He appears to have seen service in a military capacity both in the central region of the peninsula that was his homeland and also further

afield, perhaps participating in a campaign which took a considerable contingent of forces to Epirus. Although the law exercised a fascination upon him, this should not lead to the assumption that he was a notary or clerk, for legal expertise was cultivated by those of high social standing in the Levant, and the same would seem to have been true also of Crusader Greece. It is probable that he was engaged in writing his history in his middle or declining years.

THE EXTANT VERSIONS

Following its creation, the *Chronicle of Morea* was reworked and updated on a number of occasions. Interventionist programmes of varying scale were implemented by editors, translators, and copyists. As a result, the work exists not only in Greek, but also in French, 'Aragonese', and Italian. It is known today from eight manuscripts dating across a total of five centuries. The means by and extent to which the *Chronicle* circulated suggest that the Peloponnese in the late medieval and early modern periods was integrated into a vast cultural network stretching from the Mediterranean Sea into north-western Europe, with especially sustained contact occurring with the Angevin Kingdom of Naples and with Venice. At many points, if not all, this cultural network can be shown to have overlapped with a political one.

The Greek Version

A total of five exemplars of the *Chronicle* survive in Greek. Of these, the oldest, Fabricius 57 of the Kongelige Bibliotek of Copenhagen (= H), was executed in the late fourteenth century and contains some elements that cannot pre-date 1338. Even so, it manages not only to give continued expression to many of the issues dating from the period during which the *Chronicle* first came into being, but also to preserve intact something of the narrative tone and style that had been used in the initial composition of the work. In particular, the text of H can be shown to be characterized by certain features indicative of a substantial oral residue, favouring direct discourse, free direct discourse, and free indirect discourse for the representation of speech acts, employing tense-switching, and, by means of frequent narrative asides, insisting upon the delineation of a fictional communicative situation reminiscent of the bond which exists between a storyteller and his audience during a performance. Indeed, in most respects, this manuscript can be considered to be especially faithful to the early *Chronicle*, of which it constitutes our single most important witness.

The remaining four Greek manuscripts were copied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of these, B. II. I (LXVI) of the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria of Turin (= T) can be shown to derive from H and should thus be classed with it. More interesting are manuscripts gr. 2898 (= P), gr. 509 (= P2), and gr. 2753 (= P3), which are housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and the Burgerbibliothek in Bern. These form a separate sub-category, in that they transmit a recension that was created shortly after 1388 as the result of an undertaking to render the *Chronicle* less hostile to the political and cultural concerns of the Byzantines. The avowed sympathies of the redactor have resulted in the rephrasing or elimination of a number of passages found distasteful. Heightened interaction in the second half of the fourteenth century between the nobility of the Principality of Morea and that of the Despotate of Mistra could have provided the means by which the *Chronicle* became known in circles where the issuing of a revised text of this type would have been considered necessary. Specifically, the contraction of marriages for the two daughters of Erard III le Maure with Andronicus Asen Zaccaria and John Laskaris Kalopheros, both individuals who had ties with the rulers at Mistra, may well have played a part in the transmission of the work.

The French Version

A late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 15702 (= B), comprises the sole known representative of the French version of the *Chronicle*. The text contained in this manuscript can be identified as a paraphrase made in the years between 1331 and 1346 by a redactor who stamped the work with his own ideological and formal preoccupations. Thus, the content has been altered so as to give it a slant more favourable towards the Angevin suzerains of the Principality of Morea. At the same time, elements of a literary technique associated with orality have been toned down where possible. More precisely, manuscript B appears to prefer indirect and narrativized discourse for the representation of speech acts, to make use of 'historical' tenses to the exclusion of the 'epic' present, and to deploy a prominent impersonal narrating instance that is preoccupied less with communicating than with structuring the narrative. Indeed, the general style of B can be shown to conform absolutely to patterns found in other contemporary or near-contemporary works in French. As a literary product, this version of the *Chronicle* not only reflects the debate among contemporaries regarding the purpose and nature of francophone historiography, but can be situated with some exactness within the developments in the genre that occurred from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.

An appropriate milieu for the formation of the French version was provided by Angevin Naples in the last years of the reign of Robert I. Under that king, whose sobriquet was 'the Wise', literature flourished and the cultural influence of France upon the Neapolitan court reached its height. One of three French princesses at that court, Catherine de Valois, was regent of the Principality of Morea and widow of Philip of Taranto, the younger brother of King Robert. It would appear that the version of the *Chronicle* in French was written in her entourage. After this, the text then made its way to north-western Europe, entering the library of the dukes of Burgundy at some point prior to the end of the fifteenth century. Its transmission to the region could have been achieved by various means. One possibility is that it at first came into the possession of the counts of Hainault, and only subsequently, after the annexation of their County in 1428, was incorporated into the Burgundian collection. Of significance is the contact between Count Guillaume de Hainault and Marino Sanudo Torsello and, in particular, the dispatch by 1337 to the former by the latter of a text whose description is perhaps consistent with the *Chronicle*. In its passage northwards, the French version was received in different ways. It would have been read as family history in the household of the counts of Hainault, a dynasty that counted among the members of its ancestral tree a Latin emperor of Constantinople and a prince of Morea. At the court of Burgundy, however, it would have fulfilled another role. The interest in writings on the eastern Mediterranean displayed by the Burgundian dukes should be seen in the context of their attempts to appropriate for themselves the prestige of the crusading tradition of the Low Countries.

The 'Aragonese' Version

The 'Aragonese' version of the *Chronicle* survives in a single copy made in 1393 by a named scribe, Bernard de Iaqua (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 10131 = Arag.). It was created under the patronage of Juan Fernández de Heredia, the Grand Master of the Hospital of Saint John, a religious order which, in 1376, had leased the Principality of Morea from Queen Jeanne of Naples. It is likely that Heredia himself came into contact with the *Chronicle* *c*.1379, during a personal stay in the Peloponnese, and that the history travelled with him from there first to the island of Rhodes and then on to the papal court at Avignon. An important contribution to the formation of Arag. may be tentatively attributed to a cleric, Nicholas of Adrianople, who was resident in Rhodes during the 1380s and is known to have acted in the capacity of translator of Greek for Heredia. The undertaking should be seen as part of a series of commissions made by the Grand Master in the 1380s and

1390s of translations and adaptations of histories that dealt with aspects of Greece's past, ranging from the Trojan War to more recent events. Changes in emphasis in Arag. betray the background and allegiances of the person or persons who carried out the rewriting of the *Chronicle*. Episodes of an extraneous nature, for instance, were introduced which referred to the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula in a heroic vein.

The Italian Version

More recent than any of the other versions is a text of the *Chronicle* in Italian. Known only from an eighteenth-century manuscript located in the Biblioteca Marciana of Venice (Append. Ital. Cl. Vɪɪ. No. 712 = Ital.), this constitutes a summary made from the Greek at a date no earlier than the sixteenth century. It appears, from the presence of dialect features, to be attributable to an individual with ties to the Veneto. Claims by Venice to extensive territorial possessions in the Peloponnese may have generated sufficient interest in the Principality of Morea to have warranted the production of this new version. The redactor's civic pride and devotion to the Serenissima are apparent in the manner in which he treats passages referring to the institutions of the Venetian Republic.

If the text given by manuscript H comes closest to being an indigenous product of Moreot historiography, the other manuscript versions are largely indicative of the appropriation of the *Chronicle* by interests external to the Principality. One after another, redactors whose sympathies lay with the Angevins of Naples, with Aragon, Venice, or even Byzantium sought to revise the work. Of these individuals, some carried out their intentions with more dexterity and skill than others. In no case, however, has the process of adaptation succeeded in obscuring completely the essence of the material used.

THE LEGACY OF THE *CHRONICLE OF MOREA*

The fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 saw the foundation of the Principality of Morea. In the Peloponnese, the conquering regime encouraged accommodation between Latins and Greeks, and presided over the creation of a mixed society—one that would come to lay claim to a distinctive identity of its own. The emergence of a sense of nationhood was accelerated in the early fourteenth century, as the peninsula found itself at the centre of a struggle for

the political domination of the Aegean and Near East. By the 1320s, the state carved out by the Villehardouin was unstable and unviable. Confronted by a severe decline in power and prestige, the aristocracy of the Morea gave written expression to its concerns, seeking in historiography not only a distraction from the realities of the present, but also the means by which that present could be redeemed. Any attempt to regain the idyll of a lost age, however, was to prove unsuccessful. Over the years, new powers came to present their visions of the history of the crusading era and to make their promises for the future of the eastern Mediterranean. The *Chronicle of Morea* itself became the site of competing interests, and a proliferation of different versions followed, each with its own set of values and beliefs. As the old Moreot elite faded away, the text it had created was first rendered redundant and then, eventually, destroyed. In the reworkings which superseded that text, only traces of it survive. The successive transformations of the *Chronicle of Morea* attest, therefore, not to the strength but to the fragility of the western states established in the wake of the Fourth Crusade. Yet, for all that, the achievements of the original historiographic project should not be belittled. A double legacy was bequeathed to posterity. Penned in an idiom not far removed from the spoken language and articulating notions of regional sovereignty, the *Chronicle* gave birth not only to a new and durable literary genre, one that constituted a vernacularization of history writing, but also to an ideology of considerable tenacity—an ideology that was to continue to influence the consciousness of the inhabitants of Greece, and of the Peloponnese in particular, for many generations to come.

Appendix
The *Libro de los Fechos*:
from the French or from the Greek?

The question to be answered here concerns the nature and language of the version or versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* that were used by those assigned the task of revising the work in order to produce the *Libro de los fechos*. A reading in parallel of Arag. together with B and H reveals it to agree sometimes with the one and sometimes with the other of these two texts. With respect to content, this is apparent when we examine the narrative as a whole, noting the presence or absence of episodes. The account, for instance, of the resistance shown to the Franks by the lord of the castle of Araklovon or Bucelet is found in both H and Arag. (vv.1759–65 and §§110–12), but not in B, as is also the case of the account of the seizure of church property and of the building of the royal fortress of Chlemoutsi or Clermont (vv.2640–720 and §217). Conversely, references to the marriage of Catherine de Valois and Philip of Taranto are found in B and Arag. (§86 and §§86–8), but not in H. The same point can be demonstrated if we focus upon details within the narrative, highlighting the variants that exist on the level of references to the names or the numbers of persons and things. Thus, where Arag. and H both indicate that the Nivelet family received six fiefs (§122; vv.1937), by contrast B, in the equivalent passage, mentions only four (§128); where Arag. and H indicate that Venice was ceded both Modon and Coron as an incentive to give its naval support to Guillaume II de Villehardouin (§211; vv.2783–5), B refers only to Coron (§190); where Arag. and H indicate that Champlitte, having arrived in the Peloponnese and built himself a temporary castle out of compacted earth or mud-brick, then rested for a few days to take stock of the situation (§91; vv.1400–10), B furnishes no such information, but has him setting out on campaign immediately after the castle was finished (§91); where Arag. and H indicate that Geoffroy de Villehardouin, the future ruler of the Morea, sent word to a close ally or friend of his, the Duke of Venice (§151; vv.2119–22), B gives no name, but refers merely to messages sent to friends at large (§136); finally, where Arag. and H indicate that Robert de Champagne boarded a barque from Apulia in order to make the final leg of his journey to the Peloponnese (§163; vv.2240–2), B does not allude to the vessel's provenance (§149). Equally, where Arag. and B have Guillaume de la Roche sending a message of defiance to Guillaume II de Villehardouin (§218; §223), H has five feudatories, of whom Guillaume de la Roche is only one, committing the same act (vv.3192–203); where Arag. and B mention that the Saint-Omer family, and Nicolas de Saint-Omer in particular, were lords of half of Thebes (§ 387; §507), H calls the same man the lord of Thebes without giving any information regarding the precise extent of his possessions (vv.7370–5); where Arag. and B say that the Emperor Robert, when he heard of his daughter's forced marriage, would have gone to war against Geoffroy II de Villehardouin in order to avenge himself, had his

armies not already been occupied with fighting the Greeks (§200 and §181), H states only that Robert would have punished Geoffroy if he could have (vv.2531–3).

Moving on from content to the issue of wording, we find in certain passages that Arag. and B are particularly close, with the former even seeming to replicate expressions from the latter almost word for word where H has rather different turns of phrase: 'Et videndo el dicho micer Guillem que . . .' and 'Et quant le Champenois vit que . . .', Arag. §136 and B §122; 'huuo grant vergonya & grant dolor' and 'prist la chose en grant despit et vergoigne', Arag. §200 and B §181; 'las montanyas de los Esclauones' and 'les montaignes des Esclavons', Arag. §215 and B §207, 'Et despues que el princep Guillem huuo conquerido . . .' and 'Et depuis que monseignor Guillerme ot conquis', Arag. §218 and B §222; 'éll enuió por micer Guillem de la Rocia, senyor del ducame de Athenas, que le deuiesse venir á fer omenage' and 'si manda requerant monseignor Guillerme de la Roche, le seignor d'Atthenes, que il lui deust venir faire hommage', §218 and §222; 'ordenó & fizo su testament' and 'ordina et fist son testament', Arag. §418 and B §532; 'fizo escriuir una letra al rey Karles' and 'si fist escripre au roy Charle', Arag. §418 and B §533; 'que sus fillas [. . .] le fuessen recomendadas' and 'que [. . .] ses filles lui feussent recommendées', Arag. §418 and B §533; 'vino deuant del bayle & presentó la letra del rey Carles' and 'fu par devant monseignor Nicole le bail, si lui presenta les lettres que il portoit de par le roy', Arag. §429 and B §560).[1] We might be tempted from this to deduce that Arag. was based upon a text whose content was more complete than any surviving manuscript and whose language must have been French. Yet a closer consideration of the issue reveals this conclusion to be an erroneous one. Many of the phrases shared by Arag. and B should not in fact be dwelt upon as proof that translation has occurred in a particular direction because these belong to a pool of set expressions common to most tongues of the Romance linguistic family in this period. In any case, there are passages where the wording of Arag. and B is at variance, but overlap can be observed between Arag. and H: 'al arçobispo de Patras con sus calonge fue dado .viij. cauallerias de tierras & de villanos' and '*Τοῦ μητροπολίτη τῆς Πατροῦ μετὰ τοὺς κανονίκους ὀχτὼ φίε καβαλλαρίων τοῦ ἔδωκαν νὰ ἔχῃ*', Arag. §128 and H v.1955; 'micer Jufre de Vilardoyn el jouen' and '*μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲ τὸν νέον*', Arag. §192 and H v.2467; 'sus monesterios & sus yglesias assi las griegas como las latinas' and '*Τὰ μοναστήρια τῶν Φραγκῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων*', Arag. §418 and H v.7778; 'que le daria alguna cosa de que biuiria' and '«*δότε με τόπον νὰ κρατῶ, νὰ ἔχω τὴν ζωήν μου*»', Arag. §444 and H v.8445; 'ellos dixieron qu'éll iurase de mantener lures franquezas' and '«*Ὅμοσε ἐσὺ ἐμᾶς πρῶτα | νὰ μᾶς κρατῇς [. . .] | [. . .] εἰς τὴν φραγκίαν ὅπου ἔχομεν*»', Arag. §453

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[1] 'And when the aforesaid Sir Guillaume saw that . . .' and 'And when the Champenois saw that..'; 'he was greatly affronted and saddened' and 'he was much annoyed and affronted by the situation'; 'the mountains of the Slavs'; 'And once Prince Guillaume had conquered' and 'And once the lord Guillaume had conquered . . .'; 'And he sent for Sir Guillaume de la Roche, the lord of the Duchy of Athens, that he should come and do homage' and 'And he sent word to Sir Guillaume de la Roche, the lord of Athens, demanding that he come and do homage'; 'he made his will'; 'he had a letter written to King Charles'; 'that his daughters should be recommended to him'; 'he came before the *bailli* and presented the letter from King Charles' and 'he came before Sir Nicolas the *bailli*, and presented to him the letters he had brought from the King'.

and H vv.8639–41).[2] This phenomenon extends even to the echoing in Arag. of characteristics that are actually redundant in that text. Thus, in a passage in Arag. and H concerned with an enumeration of various fiefs, not only do references to the act of naming a castle or a person abound in both manuscripts, but agreement can be observed between these manuscripts with regard to the remarkable variety of synonyms and of tense forms used. Phrases in the one manuscript ('ἦτον τὸ ἐπίκλην του, οὕτως τὸν ὠνομάζαν', H v.1913; 'ὠνόμασε . . . οὕτως τὴν ὀνομάζουν', v.1916; 'τὸ ἐπίκλην του', v.1918; 'τ' ὠνόμασαν, οὕτως τὸ λέγουν πάλε', v.1921; 'οὕτως τὸν ὠνομάζαν', v.1923; 'τὸν ἔλεγαν, τὸ ἐπίκλη εἶχε . . .', v.1926; 'εἶχεν τὸ ἐπίκλην του, οὕτως τὸν ὠνομάζαν', v.1930; 'τὸ ἐπίκλην', v.1936; 'τὸ ὠνόμασεν', v.1938; 'ἀφῆκεν τὸ ἐπίκλην του, . . . ὠνομάστη', v.1943; 'κ' ἐλέγαν τον', v.1950) are echoed in the other ('se clama', Arag. §117; 'clamado', §118; 'se clama agora', §118; 'el qual se clamó', §118; '& por el nombre . . . era clamado', §118; 'el qual se clama', §119; 'clamóse', §119; 'lo nombraron', §120; 'se clamava', § 121; 'se clama', §§ 122, 123, 125; 'fue nombrada', §126; 'se clamava . . . era clamado', §127).[3] Metrics have imposed this variety upon H, for it is in verse, but an equivalent function cannot apply in the case of Arag., a prose text in a different language.[4]

   In addition to this, a number of elements in the vocabulary of Arag. can be identified as being derived from the Greek language. Notable amongst these is the usage for 'defile' or 'mountainous pass' of the word 'dongo' (Arag. §121), derived from 'δρόγγος'.[5] Toponyms, too, are often transliterated, such as 'Misserea', derived from 'Μεσσαρέα' (Arag. §117); 'Lakedemonia', from 'Λακεδαιμονία' (Arag. §§119, 170, 175, 215, 291, 294, 336, 339, 358, 367, 382, 439, 446, 473, 609, 641, 653); 'Veliguosti' from 'Βελίγοστη;' (Arag. §373); 'Cenochori' or, possibly, 'Cerochori', for the manuscript reading here is unclear, from 'Ξενοχώρι' (Arag. §432).[6] None of these toponyms, it may be noted, is attested in B, which includes 'Messarea' within 'Escorta', rather than mentioning it as a distinct region, and with regard to the other three uses respectively

   [2] 'To the Archbishop of Patras and his canons were given eight knights' fees of land and villeins' and 'To the Archbishop of Patras with his canons eight knights' fees were given to him to hold'; 'Sir Geoffroy de Villehardouin the Younger' and 'Sir Geoffroy the Younger'; 'his monasteries and churches, both Greek and Latin' and 'The monasteries both of the Franks and of the Romans'; 'that he would give him something to live off' and '"give me a holding of my own, that I might live off it"'; 'they said to him that he should first swear to maintain their freedoms' and 'swear first that you will preserve [. . .] the freedom to which we are accustomed'.
   [3] The phrases from H can be translated as: 'that was his patronymic, so he used to be named'; 'they named it . . . and name it'; 'his patronymic'; 'they named it, and still call it that'; 'they used to name him thus'; 'they called him and he had as his patronymic'; 'he had as patronymic and they used to name him'; 'his patronymic'; 'they named it'; 'he abandoned his patronymic . . . and was named'; 'and they called him'. Similarly, those from Arag. can be translated as: 'is called'; 'called'; 'is called now'; 'which was called'; 'because of this name . . . was called'; 'which is called'; 'was called'; 'they named him'; 'used to be called'; 'is called'; 'was named'; 'used to be called . . . was called'. It should be noted that, once adopted, the same pattern seeps through even into the entries within the list that are interpolations of Arag.'s own devising.
   [4] Certainly, the pattern is not one found in B.
   [5] Note that here Arag. seems to be influenced by a passage in H that occurs a few lines earlier and refers to 'τῶν Σκορτῶν τὸν δρόγγον'; a comparable phrase is never found in B.
   [6] It should be noted that Arag. uses the Greek pronunciation 'Veliguosti' in some passages, while in others it adopts the French pronunciation 'Viligort' or even 'Belieguart' (§127, §351), an inconsistency in usage which lends further support to the idea that the redactors of Arag. had in front of them texts in both languages.

'La Cremonie', 'Veligourt', and 'Saligore'. Even where the place-name is one that had originally been imported from French, such as that of the castle of 'Passavant', Arag. gives the Hellenized version, 'Passava' (Arag. §§119, 305, 385), derived from '*Πασσαβά*'. The same phenomenon also applies to personal names of individuals of French extraction, with 'Lello' (Arag. §119), derived from '*Λέλε*', and 'Cherpini' (Arag. §120), derived from '*Τσερπηνή*', being preferred to 'de Lille' and 'de Charpigny'.

Finally, and most significantly of all, is the existence of a series of specific instances where mistranslation from the Greek is identifiable. In the list of fiefs contained towards the beginning of all three of H, B, and Arag., the reading of one particular phrase in the Greek manuscript is '*μισὶρ Γγιοῦν* [. . .] *ντὲ Νιβηλὲ*' ('Sir Guy [. . .] de Nivelet', v.1936), in the French 'messire Gui de Nivelet' ('Sir Guy de Nivelet', §128), and in the Aragonese 'micer Johan de Nivelet' ('Sir John de Nivelet', §122). Here, '*Γγιοῦν*', an accusative form of 'Guy' or '*Γγίς*', has, it would seem, been misidentified by Arag. as a form of 'John', due to a similarity with the pronunciation of the Iberian 'Juan', and therefore been rendered accordingly. Also in the same list, but towards the end, B mentions 'furent assenés [. . .] pluseurs chevaliers, escuiers et sergans assés' ('many knights, and a good number of squires and sergeants were enfeoffed', §128), while   writes '*<Οἱ> καβαλλάριοι, ὅπου εἴχασιν πρὸς ἕνα φίε ὁ καθένας, | καὶ οἱ σιργέντες ἀλλὰ δή, ὅπου ἦσαν προνοιασμένοι*' ('The knights, who each had one fief, | and the sergeants likewise, those who held pronoies', vv.1965–7), the phrase '*ἀλλὰ δή*' here being an emphatic form signifying 'likewise' or 'similarly'. Apparently, Arag., trying to make sense of the Greek passage, has misunderstood '*ἀλλὰ δή*' as '*ἄλλα δύο*' ('another two'), and, confused as to why a bigger portion of the spoils of conquest should be given to persons who, although of the feudatory class, were of a somewhat inferior rank, makes an attempt at rationalization: '& á muchos otros caualleros & nobles escuderos [. . .] fue dado aqui dos caualleria & aqui una caualleria' ('and to many other knights and noble squires [. . .] were given to some two knights' fees, and to others a single fee', §133). In another section of the narrative, referring to the disembarkation of Robert de Champagne, of interest is the phrase which B and H give respectively as 'la ou est la ville de Clarence' ('there where the town of Clarence is today', §149) and '*ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἔνι σήμερον ἡ χώρα τῆς Κλαρέντζας*' ('there where the town of Glarentza is', v.2218); but which is mistakenly rendered in Arag. as 'do es agora la tierra de Clarença' ('there where the land of Glarentza is today', §163). The Greek noun '*χώρα*' had two mutually incompatible meanings in the late medieval vernacular, signifying on the one hand 'town' or 'city' and on the other 'contrée' or 'district'. Arguably, while Arag. is able in most instances to render the distinction correctly, by deducing from the context which meaning is more appropriate, writing that the Franks took 'the city of Corinth' ('la ciudat de Corento', §95) and that they divided between themselves 'tierras & castiellos' ('lands and castles', §52), in this instance, where the case is that of the harbour town of Clarence or Glarentza, although the sense is in fact clear, a misreading has been committed out of inattentiveness.

This evidence points to the employment for the creation of the *Libro de los fechos* of multiple manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea*—manuscripts that were both in Greek and in French. It was not, however, the extant manuscripts H and B that were used, but rather other exemplars which in many respects may have been more reliable. As the *Libro* took shape, these exemplars could been dismembered or otherwise

mutilated, the paper eventually being reduced to scrap, a process that would explain their loss today. Such an expenditure of effort, involving the parallel consultation of two versions of a text, may seem to us to be incredible until we consider what can be discovered about the habitual workings of the scriptorium financed by Heredia, for that scriptorium functioned along lines that were remarkably labour-intensive.

Heredia appears to have been especially fond of compilations; certainly, he commissioned several. Of them, the earliest was *La grant é verdadera istoria de Espanya* or *Grant crónica de Espanya*, a vast work which, in its presentation copy, extended to three volumes, and comprised a history of the Iberian peninsula. This was followed by the *Libro* or *Crónica de los conquiridores*, which, although also a substantial work, did not lay emphasis on a particular people or geographical region, but instead presented the biographies of a wide range of heroes. The content of the surviving two of the three volumes of the *Grant crónica* reveals them to contain material coming from at least a dozen sources, and possibly considerably more than that,[7] ranging from histories of some antiquity to a chronicle that had been produced very recently—sources that were consulted for the most part not in pre-existing assemblages or anthologies, but as separate texts.[8] The same pattern can be observed in the case of the *Libro de los conquiridores*, with, for instance, the life of Mark Anthony being taken from Plutarch's Βίοι παράλληλοι, and that of Genghis-Khan from Hayton's *Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient*.[9] Some sources were used directly in the original language, others in translations that were already available in the Iberian peninsula, and others still translated specifically for this occasion, a circumstance that meant special linguistic skills would have been required, with the languages coming into play including not only Latin, Castilian, Catalan, and Aragonese, but also French and Greek. As well as many different sources, moreover, multiple manuscripts of related, or indeed, to all intent or purpose, identical texts were also sought out and used. Thus, the title 'Paulus Europius', which appears in the surviving correspondence, in fact refers to half a dozen or so manuscripts that were owned by Heredia or passed through his hands during the 1370s, and most likely included a translation of Eutropius, as well as editions and translations of historians who used Eutropius as a source, namely Paulus Orosius and Paul the Deacon.[10] Indeed, there are indications that two copies of Orosius alone were procured and consulted, being employed in order to create an Aragonese version.[11]

This gathering of the material, complicated and lengthy process though it was, represented only the beginning. Actual composition of the compilations was an even more convoluted affair, as is revealed by a codex now preserved in Barcelona which has bound in it the working papers for several chapters of the *Grant crónica*. The book contains translations of complete sources and translated extracts; rough notes and

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[7] Morel-Fatio (1885) xxv and Luttrell (2006) list: Sallust, Livy, Justinus, Orosius, Plutarch, the *Primera crónica general*, the *General estoria* of Alfonso el Sabio; the *Crónica de Juan de la Penya*, Vincent de Beauvais, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Giovanni Mansionario of Verona, the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* and *Li Faits des Romains*.

[8] This is clear from the correspondence sent by or addressed to Juan Fernández de Heredia, which is full of references to the loaning and copying of specific works. See Luttrell (2006).

[9] Morel-Fatio (1885) xxviii.

[10] See Luttrell (2006).

[11] See Luttrell (2006).

plans; rewritten and reordered source material, sections of text worked up into a continuous draft narrative; further additions, suppressions, and vigorous revisions, many of which resolved conflicts between sources; finally, corrections aiming at linguistic standardization and stylistic homogeneity. In this one surviving example, the various stages of redaction, far from being carried out by a single individual, can be attributed to a total of five separate hands.[12] Many more persons than these five would have been involved over the thirty years or so during which Heredia appears to have acted as a patron of historical compilations. All in all, Juan Fernández de Heredia was an employer whose long-term financial commitment to projects was never in doubt, and who was more concerned with getting results that were suitably prestigious and impressive than with having things done on the cheap. Given these proclivities, it was up to scholars and scribes, each of whom had a particular set of skills to sell, to take care of their own interests by ensuring that the Grand Master enlisted the aid of the maximum number of people.

Insight into the making of the *Libro de los conquiridores*, and even more so of the *Grant crónica de Espanya*, is useful because a not dissimilar process can also be seen as being behind the *Libro de los fechos*. Although on a less grand scale than the two major projects for which Heredia is most often remembered, Arag. too consists of a compilation, and indeed explicitly declares itself to be such ('fue fecho & conpilado', fo. 266r.).[13] A variety of sources, including histories and documents,[14] can be shown to have been handled by Arag. with great dexterity, as is illustrated by the opening sequence of the work, which is concerned with the foundation and subsequent fate of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, where the narrative combines elements of several origins so skilfully that the process is completely imperceptible to the reader of the end-product.[15] Compared to the formidable juggling that goes on in sequences such as this,[16] the parallel use of two different manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Morea*, from which, after all, the main core of the *Libro* was derived, was an act that pales into insignificance, particularly since, as we have seen, not only did the necessary linguistic knowledge exist, but actual precedents for such a procedure had been established.

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[12] Luttrell (2006).

[13] 'was made and compiled'.

[14] Apart from versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* in Greek and French, possible sources employed in the *Libro de los fechos* include official documents about the Principality of Morea which the Hospital acquired as a result of its five-year lease and may have resembled those issued to Marie de Bourbon; a text that could be the *Nuova cronica* of Villani, the *Storia fiorentina* attributed to Malispini, or an anonymous *Compendium*; and, finally, either the *Eracles* or, perhaps, the *Chronique de Bernard le Trésorier*. Particularly close parallels can be drawn between the *Chronique de Bernard le Trésorier* and the *Eracles* on the one hand, and the *Libro de los fechos* on the other, as is apparent from an episode concerning the mutilation of the wife of Henri, the Emperor of Constantinople, by his barons, where at many points the wording in the texts is almost identical. See *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier publiée, pour la première fois, d'après les manuscrits de Bruxelles, de Paris et de Berne, avec un essai de classification des continuateurs de Guillaume de Tyr*, ed. M. L. de Mas Latrie (1871) 394–395; *Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens occidentaux*, vol. 2 (1859) 294–5; and Arag. §§73–80.

[15] A comparison of Arag. (§§1–88) with H/P (vv.1–1339), B (§§2–87), and either the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (pp. 331–4, 337–340, 348–352, 360–395, 469–471) or the *Eracles* (pp.241, 243–5, 264–295, 381, 446) is illuminating in this regard.

[16] See also, for instance, Arag. §§447–450, where the marriage of Isabeau de Villehardouin and Florent de Hainault is recounted.

Selected Passages from the *Chronicle of Morea*

So as to give a taste of the different versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*, extracts have been made here of a number of sample passages. Where these passages exist in parallel in two versions or more, they have been presented side by side in columnar fashion. The Greek version of the *Chronicle* is represented by its oldest manuscript (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Fabricius 57 = H), while the single extant exemplars have been used for each of the French (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 15702 = B), 'Aragonese' (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 10131 = Arag.), and Italian (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MSS Italiani Classe VII Cod. 712 coll.8754 = Ital.) versions. In all instances, passages have been given first in the original languages used for the redaction of the different versions, then in a modern translation into English. Each passage is introduced by brief explanatory comments that serve to situate it within its narrative context.

Whichever version the readers of the *Chronicle* have before them, they cannot help but be struck by the range of material contained within it. On one page, we encounter an anecdote referring to the erotic dalliance of a baron, who was a close kinsman of the prince, with the wife of one of his liege-men (Passage I: 'A Jaunt to Italy'), while, on another, we come across a detailed description of the various baronies granted in the aftermath of the conquest of the Peloponnese, together with the names of their owners and castles, and a reckoning of the precise number of their fiefs (Passage II: 'List of Fiefs'). In between these extremes can be found accounts of exchanges with the local population (Passage III: 'The Franks treat with the Greek *Archondes* at Andravida'), of sieges and battles (Passage IV: 'The Siege of Nauplion' and Passage V: 'The Heroics of Geoffroy de Briel at Pelagonia'), as well as of councils, parliaments, and court hearings (Passage VI: 'A Parliament of Women'). Although some of these episodes may, at a first glance, seem to be of an overly scabrous or trivial nature, a closer perusal of the text reveals important messages to be enshrined in them regarding the code of conduct to which both the prince's subjects and the ruler himself were expected to adhere. Indeed, each episode makes its own contribution to the highly idealized image of the cultural and political ethos of the society of the Principality of Morea which the original chronicler and his successors sought first to create and then to modify.

Any comparison of the different versions of the *Chronicle* reveals considerable discrepancies between them. Thus, although a core of material is shared in common, the history of the transmission of the work is one marked by textual instability. The

H	B	**Arag.**	**Ital.**
Andravida	Saint Zachariah, later	Andravida	Andravida
Pontikokastro or Beauvoir	Glarentza or Clarence	Pontikokastro or Beauvoir	Pontikokastro or Beauvoir
Arcadia	Arcadia	Araklovon or Bucelet	Arcadia
Modon	Port-des-Joncs	Arcadia	Modon
Coron	Modon	Modon	Coron
Kalamata	Coron	Coron	Kalamata
Araklovon or Bucelet	Kalamata	Kalamata	Arcadia
Arcadia	Arcadia	Arcadia	Scortiara

Itinerary of Champlitte's Campaign

coverage which the four versions provide of a specific episode, namely that of the third phase of the initial campaign undertaken by Guillaume de Champlitte of the conquest of the Peloponnese (H vv.1575–790; B §§103–17; Arag. §§105–14; Ital. pp.425–7), may serve as illustration of this point. All the versions agree on the objective of this campaign, as well as on the broad geographical area involved, explaining that, after the unsuccessful siege of Acrocorinth, Champlitte and his men made their way to the north-west of the peninsula, from where they headed south, keeping largely to the coast and attacking a series of strongholds with relative success, before doubling back and going north once again. The itinerary supposedly followed by the Franks, however, varies from version to version, there being considerable disagreement with regard not only to the point-of-departure of the campaign, but also the strongholds concerned, and even the order in which they were targeted.

Thus, Andravida is given by three of the versions as the place from which the troops set out (H v.1641; Arag. §109; Ital. p.425), as against the alternative offered in the fourth version, of the anchorage of Saint Zachariah, a place that later developed into the port of Glarentza or Clarence (B §110). The same pattern is also observed regarding Pontikokastro or Beauvoir, a reference to which is included in H (v.1674), Arag. (§110) and Ital. (p.425), but omitted in B. Araklovon or Bucelet is listed in both H (vv.1759–66) and Arag. (§§110–11), albeit at different points in the narrative of the campaign, but is entirely absent from the other two versions. What is more, Port-des-Joncs is found solely in B (§110) and Scortiara solely in Ital. (p.426), these destinations being unattested by the majority of the versions. Indeed, of a total of ten strongholds referred to in the accounts of this campaign, only four—Arcadia, Modon, Coron, and Kalamata—are agreed upon unanimously by the versions.

Alterations to the content of the *Chronicle of Morea* were made by redactors, scribes, and possibly patrons. The type of interventions contributed by them in conformity with their own knowledge, objectives, and preoccupations can be ascertained from a consideration of the 'Aragonese' and Italian versions, which are the two later redactions, against the earlier Greek and French texts. One feature is the habit of

abbreviating, with episodes in the newer versions often being reduced to between one third and one half the length of the equivalent passages in the older versions. Thus, in the account of the verbal exchange that took place after the battle of Pelagonia between the victorious Byzantine Emperor and the captive Prince of Morea, elements that are attested by both as originally integral to the speech made by the Prince have been omitted by Arag. and Ital., with these versions containing little more than a bald rejection of the Emperor's demands (Passage VII: 'Guillaume de Villehardouin refuses to surrender the Principality of Morea to Michael VIII Palaeologus after the Battle of Pelagonia'). In some cases, this tendency to abbreviate extends to the excision in one of the versions of an entire episode (Passage VIII: 'Refugees settle in the Principality of Morea after Constantinople is reconquered by the Byzantines'). It should be noted, however, that the practice of condensing and summarizing is not applied by Arag. and Ital. in an smooth and consistent fashion. Instead, some episodes seem to have been judged to be of more relevance than others to the envisaged reworked text, and were therefore reserved for more detailed treatment. For instance, in the description of the preparations made by Guillaume de Villehardouin prior to his campaign against Corinth, Nauplion, and Monemvasia, Arag. chooses to sketch in only the bare bones of the negotiations that were carried out in order to secure Venetian naval support, whereas Ital., by contrast, resembles H and B in giving extensive information on the exact terms of the agreement brokered (Passage IX: 'An Alliance between Guillaume II de Villehardouin and Venice').

That these revisions can be attributed to more than a straightforward concern for brevity is proven by the fact that in neither Arag. nor Ital. are changes confined to the acts of summarizing and excising. Rather, they can also consist of insertions of additional material. Sometimes, the new material takes the form of short comments, and on other occasions that of lengthy episodes. In one passage, for instance, the redactor of Ital. adds a couple of words concerning the names given to certain landmarks in his own day (Passage X: 'Outlying Siege Castles are built by the Besiegers of Acrocorinth'), while elsewhere the individual or individuals responsible for Arag. add a substantial number of lines on the subject of the fate met in Anatolia by a group of Spaniards (Passage XI: 'A Miracle involving Spaniards killed in a Battle against the Sultan of Persia').

Another feature of the changes carried out by Arag. and Ital. lies in the willingness of these versions to 'correct' information. One example of this can be found in Arag., where, in contrast to the other versions, which present the wars against the Latins in Macedonia and Thrace as having been initiated by a certain John Vatatzes, described as the lord or king of Wallachia (H vv.1030–3; B §69; Ital. p.420), the same individual is referred to instead as 'an emperor of Bulgaria who was called Kalojan Asen' ('un emperador de Burgaria, el qual auia nombre Caloynni Assan', §59). Such corrections can at times be carelessly executed, with the readings they aim to replace in fact being preserved. Thus, in Ital., the name given to the first husband of Isabeau, mistakenly referred to in the other three versions of the *Chronicle* as 'Louis' (H vv.6480–1, 7941–54, 8485–91; B §§415, 455, 544, 545, 552, 587; Arag. §§413, 448), is amended to 'Philippe' in one passage ('per assicurarsi e trovarsi erede, deliberò dar sua fiola

madama Isabella a Filippo fiol del Rè Carlo', p.451),[1] but left as 'Louis' in another ('De lì un tempo morì Miser Luis, fiol del Rè Carlo, marito di madonna Isabella, fiola del Principe Guglielmo', p.460).[2] Similarly, where the degree of kinship between Robert, Emperor of Constantinople, and the bride of Geoffroy II de Villehardouin is described in other versions as that between father and daughter (H vv.1186–8, 1195, 2477, 2289–90, 2493, 2508, 2518, 2533–5, 2561, 2621–5; B §§75, 177, 178; Ital. pp.421), Arag. first agrees with them, calling the girl 'the daughter of the emperor of Constantinople' ('la filla del emperador de Constantinoble', §193), then, realizing that an error is probably being committed, refers to her as 'daughter to one emperor and sister to another' ('filla de emperador & ermana de emperador', §195), before giving preference to the emendation of 'sister' and plumping for that thereafter ('hermana', §200). Naturally, the standard of judgement behind this impulse to 'rectify' errors is not always infallible, as is demonstrated by the interpolations made by Arag. to the list of fiefs found at the end of the narrative of the reign of Guillaume de Champlitte; here, in contrast to the other versions, which contain information dating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Arag. has made the blunder of adding references to families, such as the d'Aunoy, who only arrived in the Morea and received fiefs there after the reconquest in 1261 of Constantinople by the Byzantines (e.g. §124).

Finally, the tendency can be observed, especially in Arag., to move content around and place it at points in the narrative different to those where it had formerly been located (§§59–61, 53–8, 101, 105–6, 107, 136, 117–34, 137–40, 148–9, 217, 235, 384–96, 399–409, 410–14, 452). While the reshuffling of episodes in this version appears in some instances to have been motivated by the desire to present a more accurate chronological sequence of events (Passage XII: 'The Deaths of Baudouin de Flandres and Boniface de Montferrat'), such an explanation cannot apply to all changes made to the order of the narrative, some of which must have originated with concerns that had less to do with historicity than with matters of ideological emphasis and aesthetic satisfaction. It is indicative that the building of the royal castle of Clermont or Chlemoutsi, which was funded by the requisitioning of property from the religious orders, and which comprises a lengthy episode in some of the other versions, is treated with distaste in Arag., and referred to there with only the briefest of mentions hidden among a list of other projects of castle building (§217).

This, then, is how Arag. and Ital. rewrite the content of the *Chronicle of Morea*—by abbreviating, excising, adding, 'correcting', and reordering. Indeed, it might be argued that these same features are to be found, to a greater or lesser extent, in every single extant manuscript of the *Chronicle of Morea*, even those of H and B, whose content, although closer in many respects to the original work, should not be considered to be identical to it.

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[1] 'in order to secure his position and provide himself with an heir, he determined to give his daughter, the lady Isabeau, to Philippe, the son of King Charles'.

[2] 'After a while, Sir Louis died, who was the son of King Charles, and the husband of lady Isabeau, the daughter of Prince Guillaume'.

THE PASSAGES

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[3] As these passages have been chosen to illustrate deliberate decisions made by the redactors, rather than differences between the versions that are attributable to accidents of survival, lacunae caused by the loss of manuscript leaves or by other similar problems in transmission are not reproduced here, with all twelve passages coming instead from parts of the narrative where we have reliable textual evidence for each of the four versions. The translations into English of the passages have all been newly produced for the present volume, and are my own work.

PASSAGE I

A Jaunt to Italy

After the Byzantines under Michael VIII Palaeologus establish a bridgehead in the Principality of Morea, the Franks fight a series of battles with them and, despite the odds, are victorious. During these struggles, the presence is sorely missed of Geoffroy de Briel, who is the Baron of Karytaina and the nephew of Prince Guillaume II de Villehardouin, and has an unrivalled reputation for his valour and skill as a soldier. The inhabitants of Escorta, who live on the land belonging to de Briel and who believe themselves to be abandoned by him, are persuaded by the enemy to rebel and are only with difficulty brought to heel. The neglect by de Briel of his duties as a feudal lord and vassal to the Prince is all the more blameworthy since it has been caused by base motives, for the Baron has gone to Italy to indulge in erotic dalliance with a person who should have been sacrosanct to him—the wife of one of his own knights. His conduct, however, does not escape the attention of King Manfred of Sicily, who takes measures accordingly.

H vv.5739–846	B §§398–407	Arag. §§375–80	Ital. pp.449–50

Ἐν τούτῳ ἀφίνομεν ἐδῶ ἐτοῦτο, ὅπου ἀφηγοῦμαι,
καὶ θέλω νὰ σὲ ἀφηγηθῶ διὰ ἐκεῖνον τὸν στρατιώτην,
τὸν ἀφέντην τῆς Καρύταινας, τὴν πρᾶξιν ὅπου
  ἐποῖκεν,
ποῦ ἦτον ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς στοῦ πρίγκιπος τὴν
  μάχην,
κι οὐδὲν ἦτον εἰς τὸν Μορέαν στὴν μάχην τῶν
  Ρωμαίων
εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὅπου λαλῶ, κι ἀκούσετε τὰ λέγω.
Στὴν μάχην ὅπου εἴχασιν ὁ πρίγκιπα Γυλιάμος
μὲ τῶν Ρωμαίων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μὲ τὸν ἀδελφόν του,
ὁ ἀφέντης τῆς Καρύταινας, (ὅπου τὸν ἐκρατοῦσαν
διὰ ἕναν ἐκ τοὺς καβαλλαρίους τοὺς πρώτους γὰρ τοῦ
  κόσμου,
στρατιώτης ἦτο ἐξάκουστος εἰς ὅλα τὰ ρηγᾶτα),
ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας δαιμονικῆς, διὰ γυναικὸς ἀγάπην —
τὸ ἐπάθασιν κι ἄλλοι πολλοὶ φρόνιμοι καὶ
  στρατιῶτες!—
ὁκάποιου του καβελλαρίου γυναῖκα ἐρωτεύτη,
τοῦ μισὶρ Ντζᾶ ντὲ Καταβᾶ, οὕτως τὸν ὠνόμαζαν.
Ἐπῆρε την ἐκ τὸν Μορέαν κ' ἐδιάβη εἰς τὴν Πούλιαν,
λέγας νὰ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐκεῖ στὰ μοναστήρια,
εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον εἰς τὸ Μπάρ, νὰ σώσῃ κ' εἰς
  τὴν Ρώμην,
εἶθ' οὕτως στὸν Ἀρχάγγελον, στὸ μέγα μοναστῆριν,
ὅπου ἔνι εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ βουνὶ πλησίον τῆς Μαφρεδόνης.
Ὁ ρόϊ Μαφρὲς εὑρίσκετον ἐτότε εἰς τὴν Πούλιαν
ρῆγας, ἀφέντης Σικελίας, κι ὅλου γὰρ τοῦ ρηγάτου·

Si vous layrons a parler dou prince Guillerme et vous parlerons dou noble baron messire Goffroy de Bruieres, le seignor de Caraintaine, ou il estoit quant le prince Guillerme guerroioit a l'empereor et il n'estoit en sa compaignie.

[A] cellui temps que li princes menoit sa guerre en son pays de la Morée, tout ainxi comme vous avés oy çà arrieres, le seignor de Caraintaine, lequel estoit tenus pour .j. des meillors chevaliers dou monde, si n'estoit mie au pays de la Morée, car fortune et pechié l'avoit conduit a faire une chose moult laide, car amour de femme, qui mains hommes, et aucuns les plus sages dou monde, deçut et meme a la mort et a honteuse vie, si deçut et engingna ainxi le gentil homme par tel maniere que il ama une dame qui

Et en aquel tiempo que micer Jufre, senyor de Quarantana, auia leuado la muller á micer Johan de Cathaua à Brandiz, el rey Manfredo era senyor del reyalme de Sicilia; &, estando en Manfredonia, supo qu'el senyor de Quarantana era arribado á Bandiz, & por que auia oydo dezir de su proeza, enuió por él que viniesse que lo queria veyer.

Et el senyor de Quarantana caualguó & fue à éll, & fizo reuerencia al rey; & el rey lo recibió con grant honor & con grant alegria, & le demandó porque era venido al realme. Et éll respondió qu'éll era venido en peregrinatge á sant Nicolau de Bar.

Et el rey supo que éll auia tomado una muller de hun cauallero & que con ella era venido alli; de que el rey huuo grant desplazer que

. . . dirò del Caritena, che si partì dalla Morea, però che s'innamorò della moglie di un suo cavallier detto Miser Zuan de Caritena, e si partì dalla Morea con la detta donna e andò in Pugia, fingendo andar a far un voto a S. Nicolò di Bari e all'Arcangelo di Monte presso Manfredonia. Giunto in Puglia, ove si ritrovava Rè Manfreddi, Signor di Scicilia e di tutto il regno, e presentito il Rè del zonzer del Signor di Caritena, fece inquisir alli suoi, ch'era venuto là, un de li suoi del Caritena; disse, ch'era venuto per soddisfar ad un suo voto, e che volea anco andar a Roma pur per voto. Un'altro disse il fatto, come stava dell'innamoramento; di che il Rè ebbe dispiacer e lo fece venir a se, il qual andato e interrogato dal Rè, a ch'era venuto là, disse,

κι ὡς ἤκουσεν ἀπὸ τινὲς ὅπου ἦλθαν κ' εἴπανέ του
ὁ ἀφέντης τῆς Καρύταινας ἦλθεν ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν Πούλιαν,
ὁ ἐξάκουστος εἰς τὰ ἄρματα 'ς ὅλην τὴν Ρωμανίαν,
πολλὰ τὸ ἐθαυμάστηκεν, ἐρώτησε τὸν τρόπον
νὰ μάθη καὶ τὴν ἀφορμήν, τὸ τί ἤθελεν ἐκεῖσε.
Τινὲς ὅπου τὸ ἀκούσασιν ἀπὸ τὴν φαμελίαν του
νὰ προσκυνήση, λέγουν του, εἰς τὰ ἅγια μοναστήρια,
ὅπου εἶναι εἰς τὸ ρηγᾶτο του, ν' ἀπέλθη κ' εἰς τὴν
    Ρώμην·
<καὶ> ὀκάποιος ἄλλος φρόνιμος (ὅπου ἦτον
    παιδεμένος,
ὅπου ἦτον ἐρωτήσοντα ὀκάποιον συγγενῆν του,
ὅπου ἦτον ἐκ τὴν φαμελίαν τοῦ ἀφέντη τῆς
    Καρυταίνας,
καὶ τοῦ εἶχε εἰπεῖ τὴν ἀφορμήν, τὸν τρόπον, τὴν
    ἀλήθειαν)
λέγει τὸν ρῆγαν μυστικῶς κ' ἐπληροφόρησέ τον
τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν ἀφορμὴν καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἀλήθειαν·
"ὁ ἀφέντης τῆς Καρύταινας ὁ ἐξάκουστος στρατιώτης
ὀκάποιου του καβαλλαρίου γυναῖκαν ἐρωτεύτη,
κι ἀπῆρε την ἐκ τὸν Μορέαν κ' ἦλθεν ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν
    Πούλιαν
διὰ νὰ τὴν ἔχη ἐρωτικήν, νὰ χαίρεται μετ' αὕτην."
Τὸ ἀκούσει το ὁ ῥόϊ Μαφρόϊς, μεγάλως τὸ ἐβαρύνθη,
ἐθλίβηκε τὴν ἐντροπὴν τοῦ εὐγενικοῦ στρατιώτου·
καβαλλάρην ἀπέστειλεν καλὰ συντροφεμένον,
κ' ἐδιάβη εἰς τὸν μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲ τῆς Καρυταίνου
    ἀφέντην.
'Εκ τὸ ἱμοιράδιν τοῦ ρηγὸς λέγει, παρακαλεῖ τον,
νὰ ἔλθη ἐκεῖ νὰ τὸν ἰδῆ, χρήζει νὰ τοῦ συντύχη.
Κ' ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τὸ ἀκούσει το, πηδᾶ, καβαλλικεύει,
μὲ ὅλην του τὴν φαμελίαν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ρῆγαν.

estoit fame d'un sien cheva-
lier que on appelloit messire
Jehan de Carevas, laquelle
estoit la plus bele dame de
tout Romanie.

Et pour faire plus aise-
ment son delit avec la
dame, si fist entendant que
il avoit voé d'aller en peleri-
nage a Rome, a Saint Nicolas
du Bar et au mont de Saint
Angle en Puille. Si prist celle
dame, et tant de compaignie
comme a lui plot, et passa en
Puille.

Et quant le roy Maffroy
d'Alemaigne, qui lors estoit
rois de Cecille et de Puille,
sot que li sires de Carain-
taine, qui adonc estoit de la
plus grant renommée que
chevalier pueust estre, et es-
toit venus au pays, si enquist
et demanda pour quoy et
pour quel occoison il estoit
venus en son pays. Et tant
enquist et demanda que .j.
de ceaux qui venus estoit en
sa compaignie, qui bien sa-
voit l'affaire, si dist au roy et
certefia comment pour
l'amour d'une dame que il

un tan noble & grant caual-
lero perdiesse su honor assi
por huna fembra. Et el rey lo
fizo clamar delan déll & le
dixo :
'Micer Jufre, yo sé la ocasion
por que eres venido, de que
yo he grant desplazer, que
por huna fembra tu deuas
perder tu honor & abaldo-
nar tu senyor & tu tio en las
guerras qu'él ha con los
Grieguos. Yo te faré armar
una galea & comandote en
pena de la cabeça que tu te
deuas recullir en galea & tor-
narte á tu senyor & deman-
darle mercet & yo escriuiré
que por amor de mi te
quiera perdonar.'

Et el senyor de Quaran-
tana le respondió que faria
su comandamiento. Et el rey
comandó que la gualea
fuesse apparellada. Et como
fue aparellada, el senyor de
Quarantana fue al rey &
priso conget déll, & el rey le
fizo grant honor & le dió
muy grandes dones; & priso
que huuo conget, puyó en
gualea & arribó en Clarença.

che essendo prigion a Cost-
antinopoli, avea fatto voto
di venir in Italia a quelli
santi lochi detti di sopra,
cioè S. Nicolò, l'Arcangelo
e Roma. Il Rè li disse, che
sappeva la vera causa della
sua vennuta, e lo riprese
molto, che aveva fatto mor-
morar, e aver abbandonato il
suo Principe in tanta guerra
e sì importante, e avesse
mancato alla fede datali,
e per esser anco stato disleal
al suo cavalier, perchè così
come il cavalier suo li era
obbligato di fede, così esso
era obbligato di lealtà al suo
cavalier, e che questi dui sì
grandi errori li dispiace-
vano, nè volea per cosa del
mondo, che stesse nel reame
suo, ma che si partisse, e che
per sua urbanità li dava ter-
mine giorni 15 a partirsi
e tornar al suo Principe; il
qual ringraziò molto il Rè
e si parti dal Rè e andò a
Brindisi e ivi imbarcatosi in
una gallea, se ne andò a Nicli
e di lì andò in Andravida,
ove trovò il Principe.

Τὸ ἰδεῖ τον ὁ ῥόϊ Μαφρές, ἐπροσηκώθηκέν τον,
ἀπὲ τὸ χέρι τὸν κρατεῖ, σιμά του τὸν καθίζει,
ἄρξετον νὰ τὸν ἐρωτᾷ τὸ πότε ἦλθεν ἐνταῦτα.
Κ' ἐκεῖνος ἀποκρίθηκεν· ἦλθε νὰ προσκυνήσῃ
στὰ μοναστήρια, ὅπου ἔταξεν ἐτότε εἰς τὴν Πόλιν,
στὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Κωνσταντίνου
   Πόλης.
Κι ὁ ῥήγας τοῦ ἀποκρίθηκεν, τὰ ἐτέτοια τοῦ ἐλάλει·
Θαυμάζομαι εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν σου, εἰς τὸ ἔπαινος ὅπου
   ἔχεις,
ὅτι εἶσαι εἰς τὰ ἄρματα ἐξάκουστος στρατιώτης,
κι ἄφηκες τὸν ἀφέντην σου τὸν πρίγκιπα Γυλιάμον
εἰς τέτοιαν μάχην δυνατὴν καὶ χρείαν ἀπὸ φουσσᾶτο,
ὅπου ἔχει μὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Κωνσταντίνου Πόλης.
Οὐ πρέπει νὰ ἔνι εὐγενικὸς ἄνθρωπος ψεματάρης,
οὔτε στρατιώτης, ὡς ἐσὺ ὅπου εἶσαι ἐπαινεμένος,
καὶ πᾶσα ἄνθρωπος <εὐγενὴς> πρέπει νὰ τὸ βαρειέται
καὶ νὰ τὸ θλίβεται πολλὰ ὅταν ἀκούσῃ ὅτι σφάλλει.
Ἀφέντη τῆς Καρύταινας, θέλω νὰ τὸ ἐγνωρίζῃς,
καὶ κράτει το εἰς πληροφορίαν, ἐξεύρω τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν ἀφορμὴν τὸ πῶς ἦλθες ἐνταῦτα,
καὶ θλίβομαί το, μὰ τὸν Θεόν, διὰ τὸ ἔπαινος ὅπου
   ἔχεις.
Τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔνι ἄσκημον, βαρειῶμαι νὰ τὸ λέγω.
Ὅμως διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην σου θέλω νὰ τὸ φαυλίσω
νὰ τὸ ἐγνωρίσῃς καθαρά, τὸ σφάλμα ὅπου ἐποῖκες.
Ἐσὺ ἄφηκες τὸν πρίγκιπα, τὸν κύρην σου τὸν λίζιον,
ὅπου ἔχει μάχην δυνατὴν μετὰ τὸν βασιλέαν,
κ' ἐπάτησες τὸν ὅρκον σου, ὅπου ἔχεις γὰρ εἰς αὐτόν,
κ' εἶσαι ἀφίορκος, ἄπιστος στὸν λίζιον σου ἀφέντην.
Καὶ πάλε, ἄλλο ἄσκημον, δημηγερσίαν μεγάλην,
ἐπῆρες τοῦ καβαλλαρίου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σου τοῦ λίζιον

avoit la amenée, laquelle estoit femme d'un sien chevalier, et l'avoit tollue a son mari, si estoit la venus, disant que il aloit en pelerinage.

Et quant le roy sot ceste chose et fu certains, si envoia querre le seignor de Caraintaine, car il avoit voulenté de lui veoir et parler a lui. Lors alerent deux chevaliers et le semondrent de par le roy que il venist parler a lui. Et li sires de Carintaine si ala voulentiers vers le roy moult liement.

Et quant il fu devant le roy, si le salua et lui fist la reverence que il appartient de faire a roy. Et li rois l'acuilli moult bel et lui fist grant semblant, et l'onora assez selonc qu'il appartenoit a .j. vaillant chevalier et de tel renomée comme il estoit. Et lors le fist seoir de costé de lui. Si lui commença a demander comment et quel aventure l'avoit fait venir en son païs. Et li sires de Caraintaine lui respondi car il es-

Et quando los barones & caualleros que eran en Andreuilla con el princep huyeron qu'el senyor de Quarantana era arribado...

τὴν ὁμόζυγόν του γυνὴν καὶ περπατεῖς μετ᾽ αὔτην,
ὅπου ἔχεις ὅρκον μετ᾽ αὐτὸν κ᾽ ἐκεῖνος μετὰ σέναι.
Λοιπόν, διατὸ ἔνι ἐξάκουστον τὸ ἔπαινος ὅπου ἔχεις,
σὲ δίδω τέρμενον μακρύν, ἡμέρες δεκαπέντε,
νὰ λείπῃς ἐκ τὸν τόπον μου κ᾽ εἰς τὸν Μορέα νὰ
    ὑπάγῃς
τοῦ πρίγκιπος τοῦ ἀφέντη σου εἰς μάχην νὰ βοηθήσῃς,
ὅπου ἔχει μὲ τὸν βασιλέα ἐκεῖνον τῶν Ρωμαίων.
Εἴτε εὑρεθῇς στὸν τόπον μου διαβὼν οἱ δύο ἑβδομάδες,
ὀμνύω σε εἰς τὸ στέμμα μου, κ᾽ εἰς τὴν ψυχήν μου
    ἀπάνω,
ὁρίσει θέλω παρευτὺς νὰ κόψουν τὴν κεφαλήν σου.᾽
Τὸ ἀκούσει το ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲς τῆς Καρυταίνου ὁ
    ἀφέντης,
τὸ πῶς τὸν ἀποσκέπασεν ὁ ῥῆγας ἀπ᾽ ἀτός του,
καὶ εἶπεν του τὸ φταίσιμον, τὸ σφάλμαν ὅπου ἐποῖκεν,
ἀπ᾽ τῆς αἰσχύνης κ᾽ ἐντροπῆς, ὅπου εἶχεν ἐκ τὸν ῥῆγαν,
ἡ συντυχιά του ἐκόντεψεν, τὸ τί λαλήσει οὐκ εἶχεν.
Ὅμως, ὡσὰν ἠμπόρεσεν, τὸν ῥῆγαν ἀποκρίθη·
‘Ἀφέντη ῥῆγα, δέομαι, προσπίπτω, προσκυνῶ σε·
ὅσον μὲ εἶπες καὶ λαλεῖς, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς τὸ λέγεις,
ἐπεὶ ἀπ᾽ ἀτός μου γνώθω το τὸ φταίσιμον ποῦ ἐποῖκα·
καὶ προσκυνῶ κ᾽ εὐχαριστῶ τὴν βασιλείαν σου εἰς
    τοῦτο
κ᾽ ἐγὼ κάταυτα νὰ διαβῶ κι ἀπέδω νὰ μισσέψω,
νὰ ὑπάγω εἰς τὸν ἀφέντην μου τὸν πρίγκιπα
    Γυλιάμον.᾽
Ἀπηλογίαν ἐζήτησεν, ὁ ῥῆγας τοῦ τὴν δίδει·
ἐστράφη εἰς τὴν κατοῦναν του, τὴν φαμελίαν του
    ἀπῆρε,
σπουδαίως ἀπέκει ἐμίσσεψεν, ἐκίνησεν κ᾽ ἐδιάβη.
Εἰς τὸ Βροντῆσι ἔσωσεν ἀπέσω εἰς ἕξι ἡμέρες·

toit venus pour .j. sien veu que il avoit voué, qui estoit en son regne de Puille, et beoit a aller jusques a Rome, se a Dieu plaisoit.

Li rois Mafroys, qui bien estoit certefiés de la verité pour laquelle occoison il estoit venus, si ot moult grant compassion d'un tel chevalier et plus dou prince que il avoit leissié en tel guerre pour tel ribauderie. Si respondi ainxi :

‘Sire de Carintaine, sachiés que je sui informés pour quoy vous estes venus par deça. Donc, pour ce que je say que vous estes de grant renommée et que vous estes .j. des vaillans chevaliers de crestienté, et que l'occoison de vostre venue est si laide que je ne la diroie pour riens en audience, se ne vueil mie regarder a vostre mesprison, car vous avés deservi de perdre le chief, pour ce que vous avés abandonné le prince Guillerme, vostre seignor lige, en la plus chaude guerre que il eust

κάτεργον ηὗρεν ἔτοιμον κ' ἐσέβηκεν εἰς αὐτο
κ' εἰς τὴν Κλαρέντσαν ἔσωσεν ἀπέσω εἰς τρεῖς
  ἡμέρας.
Τὸν πρίγκιπαν ἐρώτησεν ποῦ νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ εὕρει,
κ' ἐκεῖνος ποῦ τὸ ἔξευρεν ἐπληροφόρησέ τον·
'στὴν Ἀνδραβίδα εὑρίσκεται ὁ πρίγκιπας Γυλιάμος'.

onques; et après si avés def-
failli a vostre homme lige,
lequel j'ay entendu qu'il est
.j. des plus bons chevaliers
de Romanie a qui vous de-
viés foy; et luy avés tollue sa
femme. Pour quoy je vous
dy en brief que pour la
bonne renommée qui a esté
en vous, si vous pardoins la
justice que on deveroit faire
de vous; et vous commans
que, dedens .viij. jours,
vous doiés vuydyer mon
pays et que vous doiés aler
a vostre seignor lige pour
lui aidier de maintenir la
guerre que il a; ou se vous
estes trovés en mon pays
passant le dit terme, que je
feray faire de vous tel justice
comme on doit faire d'om-
me qui abandonne son seig-
nor lige en fait d'armes a son
grant besoing.'

Et quant le seignor de
Carintaine oÿ le roy parler
ainxi descovertement, si en
fu moult honteux. Après si

ot doute que li rois ne lui
feist chose qui fust contre
son honnor. Si n'en vot mie
faire long sarmon, car il ne
pooit trover nulle excuse qui
lui fust honnerable. Si re-
spondi au roi le plus gracieu-
sement que il pout, car puis
que il lui veoit son pays et lui
commandoit de partir, que il
le feroit voulentiers et obeÿr-
oit a son commandement,
sauf encombrement de ma-
ladie et encombrement de
fortune de mer. Lors prist
congé dou roy le plus gra-
cieusement qu'il pot.

Si avint chose que, puis
qu'il fu parti dou roy, si erra
tant par ses journées, que par
terre que par mer, que par .v.
sepmaines il arriva en Clar-
ence. Lors enquist ou li prin-
ces estoit. Si lui dist on que il
estoit en Andreville . . .

H vv.5739–846	B §§399–407	Arag. §§375–80	Ital. pp.449–50

Now, let us leave off this subject here, that I have been recounting, for I wish to tell you about that soldier, the lord of Karytaina - what he was doing and where he was during the Prince's war, and was not present in the Morea to fight against the Romans [Greeks] at that time of which I speak. And listen to what I have to say!

During the war which Prince Guillaume had with the Emperor of the Romans and the Emperor's brother, the lord of Karytaina (who was held to be one of the foremost knights in the world, a soldier renowned in every kingdom) out of sinfulness and for love of a woman—as has befallen many other wise men and soldiers—fell in love with the wife of a certain knight of his called Jean de Catavas. He took the lady from the Morea and went to Apulia, saying that they were going on a pilgrimage to the monasteries there: to Saint Nicholas at Bari,

We leave off speaking about the Prince and will tell you about the noble baron Sir Geoffroy de Briel, the lord of Karytaina, where he was when Prince Guilllaume was fighting against the Emperor, and he was not in his company.

When the prince was conducting his war in his land of Morea, as you have already heard here, the lord of Karytaina, who was considered to be one of the foremost knights of the world, was not in the land of Morea at all, for destiny and sin had led him to do a very unseemly thing, since love for the fair sex, which has led astray and driven either to death or to a life of shame many a man, including some of the wisest in the world, deceived and tricked this gentleman also in so wise that he became enamoured of a lady who was the wife of one of his knights called Jean de Catavas, and who was the most beautiful woman in all Romania.

At that time when Sir Geoffroy, the lord of Karytaina, had stolen the wife of Sir Jean de Cateva and taken her to Brindisi, King Manfred was King of the Realm of Sicily; and, being in Manfredonia, learned that the lord of Karytaina had arrived at Brindisi, and because he had heard tell of his bravery, sent for him to come, because he wished to meet him.

And the lord of Karytaina mounted and went to him, and made a reverence to the King, and the King received him with great honour and great joy and asked him why he had come to the Kingdom. And he answered that he had come on a pilgrimage to Saint Nicholas of Bari.

And the King knew that he had taken the wife of a knight and that he had come there with her; and for this the King was greatly displeased—that such a noble and great knight should in this manner lose his honour for a woman. And

. . . I will tell of Karytaina, who departed from the Morea because he had fallen in love with the wife of a knight of his called Sir Jean de Caritena, and, having left the Morea with the aforesaid lady, went to Apulia, pretending that he was travelling in order to fulfil a vow at Saint Nicholas of Bari and at the Archangel of the Mountain near Manfredonia.

After the lord of Karytaina had come to Apulia, where King Manfred, the ruler of Sicily and of all the Regno was to be found, the King, who was aware of his arrival, had the people who had come with him questioned. One of the men said that Karytaina had come to fulfil a vow, and that, furthermore, also because of the vow, he wanted to go on to Rome. Another told the truth of the matter, explaining how Karytaina had fallen in love; this displeased the King and he had Karytaina summoned; and Kary-

and as far as Rome, and also to the Archangel, the great monastery, which is on a hill and mountain near Manfredonia.

At that time, King Manfred was king of Apulia and Sicily, and ruled over the entire Regno; and when, some people having gone and told him, he heard that the lord of Karytaina, who was famed throughout Romania for bearing arms, had come to Apulia, he marvelled at it, and asked to learn the reason and purpose behind his coming, and exactly what he wanted there. Some people repeated what they had been given to understand by the entourage of the lord of Karytaina, and said that he had come on a pilgrimage to the holy monasteries which were in Manfred's kingdom, and that he also intended to go on to Rome; but another man, who was shrewd and experienced, and had probed a relative of his who belonged to the entourage of the lord of Karytaina, and so had had the why and the wherefore, and the whole truth of the matter revealed to him, speaks to the King secretly and informed him of the why and the wherefore,

And so that he might take his pleasure with the lady more easily, he made it known that he had sworn to go on a pilgrimage to Rome, to Saint Nicholas of Bari and to Mont-Saint-Michel in Apulia. And he took the lady, together with as many attendants as he chose, and crossed over to Apulia.

And when Manfred of Germany, who was then King of Sicily and of Apulia, learned that the lord of Karytaina, whose reputation then as a knight was next to none, had come there, he enquired and demanded why and for what reason he was come to his land. And he enquired and asked so much, that one of those who had come in Geoffroy's entourage, who knew the matter well, told and declared that he had been brought there by love for a woman, who was the wife of a knight of his, and whom he had stolen from her husband and come there, saying that he was going on a pilgrimage.

And when the King had learned this thing and verified it, he sent for the lord of Karytaina, because he desired to see him and speak with him. Then two knights went

the King called him into his presence and said to him:

'Sir Geoffroy, I know the reason you are come here and it displeases me greatly, that for a woman you should have lost your honour and abandoned your lord and uncle in his wars against the Greeks. I will have a galley armed for you and order you, upon pain of death, to embark in the galley and return to your lord and beg for his mercy; and I will write to him that he should be willing to pardon you out of love for me'.

And the lord of Karytaina answered that he would do his bidding. And the King commanded that the galley should be made ready. And when it was ready, the lord of Karytaina went to the King and took leave of him, and the King did him much honour and gave him many gifts; and, having taken his leave, he entered the galley and arrived at Glarentza.

And when the barons and knights who were at Andravida with the Prince learned that the lord of Karytaina was come . . . .

taina went to the King and was questioned by him as to what had brought him to Apulia. He replied that while he had been held prisoner in Constantinople he had made a vow to go to Italy to certain holy places mentioned above, namely Saint Nicholas and the Archangel and Rome.

The King said to him that he knew the real reason for his arrival in Apulia, and berated him greatly for having exposed himself to censure by abandoning his Prince during such a fierce and important war and betraying his trust, and also for having broken faith with his knight, because, just as his knight was obliged to be loyal to him, so too was he obliged to keep faith with his knight; [the King added that] these two errors were great and displeased him, and so he would not have him remain in his kingdom for anything in the world, but would rather have him go, and that out of courtesy he would give him fifteen days to leave and return to his Prince. Upon this, Karytaina thanked the King profusely, and departed from the King and went to Brindisi, and

and the whole truth: 'the lord of Karytaina, that renowned knight, has fallen in love with the wife of a knight of his, and he has brought her from the Morea and come here to Apulia, in order to have her as his mistress, and take his pleasure with her.' Upon hearing this, King Manfred was greatly aggrieved and saddened by the dishonour that had come to the noble soldier; he sent a knight with a goodly company to Sir Geoffroy, the lord of Karytaina. Speaking to him on behalf of the King, the knight asks him to go and see the King, and meet with him. And he, upon hearing it, leaps into the saddle and, with his entire entourage, went to the King.

Upon seeing him, King Manfred rose to greet him, takes him by the hand, and seats him beside him, and started to ask him when he had arrived in the land. And he answered that he had come to worship at the monasteries, as he had vowed to do when he was in the City, in the prison of the Emperor of the City of Constantine.

And the King answered: 'I am amazed, given your good sense, and summoned him on the King's behalf, that he should come and speak with him. And the lord of Karytaina willingly and joyfully went to the King.

And when he was come before the King, he saluted him, making the reverence that should be made to a king. And the King gave him a most handsome welcome and kept up appearances, more or less honouring him in a manner befitting a valiant knight of his reputation. And so he made him sit beside him. And he began to ask him what brought him to his land. And the lord of Karytaina replied that he had come because of a vow he had made, and was here in his Kingdom of Apulia, and counted on going as far as Rome, God willing.

King Manfred, who had established the true reason he had come, felt great compassion for the knight, and even more compassion for the prince whom the knight had left during such a war for such bawdiness. And he answered:

'My lord of Karytaina, know that I am advised of what really there embarked in a galley which went to Nikli and from there to Andravida, where he found the Prince . . .

and your reputation as a renowned knight, that you have deserted your lord Prince Guillaume during such a fierce war with the Emperor of Constantinople, when he is in dire need of troops. A nobleman should not be a liar, nor should a soldier of your renown, and all noblemen should be greatly aggrieved and saddened to hear that they are in error. My lord of Karytaina, I want you to be advised and learn that I know the truth, the why and the wherefore of your presence here, and, by God, it grieves me because of your good reputation. The affair is an ugly one and I am loathe to speak of it, but because I love you I want to denounce your conduct, that you may understand clearly the wrong you have done. You deserted the Prince, your liege lord, who is fighting a fierce war with the Emperor, and you broke your oath, which you had given to him, and you are thus forsworn to your liege lord and unfaithful to him; and, on top of that, you have committed another unseemly act and great betrayal, for you have taken the lawfully wedded wife of the knight

brings you here. So, seeing that I know you are of great renown and are one of the most valiant knights in Christendom, and that the reason for your presence here is so unseemly that I would never utter it at a public audience, I do not have the slightest inclination to look into the matter of your disgrace formally, for you deserve to lose your head, because you have abandoned Prince Guillaume, your liege lord, in the middle of the fiercest war he has ever had; and, in addition, you have failed your liege man, concerning whom I hear that he is one of the best knights of Romania, and to whom you ought to keep faith— and you have stolen his wife. And so, in brief, I tell you that, because of your former good reputation, I spare you the sentence that ought to be imposed upon you, and order you, within eight days, to be gone from my land and return to your liege lord in order to help him continue the war he is fighting; and if you are found in my land after the term has passed, I will impose upon you the sentence that should be imposed upon a

who is your liegeman, and keep company with the lady, although you are bound by an oath to her husband and he by one to you. Now, because of your renown and reputation, I allow you a long term, of fifteen days, to depart from my land and go to the Morea, and aid the Prince your lord in his wars. Should you be found on my land after the two weeks are up, then—I swear by my crown and by my very soul—I will immediately order that your head be struck off.'

When Sir Geoffroy of Karytaina heard this, how the King had unmasked him, and told him of his error, of the wrong he had committed, out of shame and humiliation, he lost the power of speech and had nothing to say. However, as best he could, he answered the King: 'Sire, my lord, I entreat you, I fall before you and do reverence. In whatever you have said and told me, you speak as God would, for I too am become sensible of the error I have committed, and therefore do reverence and thank your majesty for this, and I will set out immediately and leave here, to re-

man who abandons his liege lord in his hour of need and does not fight for him.'

And when the lord of Karytaina heard the King speaking so openly, he was very ashamed. And then he wondered whether the King might not deal with him in a manner that would dishonour him. And so he did not want to give a long speech in reply, because he could find no honourable excuse for his conduct. So he replied to the King as graciously as he could, that, since he was barred from the land and ordered to depart, he would do so willingly, and obey his command, unless prevented by illness or the unpredictability of the weather at sea. Then he took his leave of the King as graciously as he could.

And so it happened that, having left the King's presence, he journeyed so far each day, that in five weeks he had arrived at Clarence. Then he asked where the Prince was, and was told that he was at Andravida . . .

turn to my lord Prince Guillaume.' He asked to take his leave, and the King grants it. He returned to his lodgings and, taking his entourage with him, departed in haste, setting out to make the crossing. He got to Brindisi within six days where he found a galley ready and boarded it, and arriving back in Glarentza after another three days. He asked where he would find the Prince, and he who knew informed him: 'Prince Guillaume is at Andravida.'

PASSAGE II

List of Fiefs

Once the initial phase of the conquest of the Peloponnese is completed, a committee consisting of equal numbers of Frankish knights and clergy on the one hand, and of Greek *archondes* on the other, is appointed to divide up the lands that have been acquired. Their decisions are entered into a register of fiefs, which begins by detailing the grants made to the barons or peers of the Principality, theoretically twelve in number, then enumerates those made to the prelates and the military orders, before moving on to lesser individuals. Note that both the names of the feudatories themselves, and the identity and size of their fees, vary considerably in the different language versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*.

Ἐν τούτῳ ηὑρέθησαν ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἦσαν προνοιασμένοι· Ὁ πρῶτος ὅπου ἔγραφεν ἦτο ὁ μισὶρ Γαρτιέρης, ντὲ Ροζιέρες [ἦτον] τὸ ἐπίκλην του, οὕτως τὸν ὠνόμαζαν· εἶχεν εἰκοσιτέσσαρα καβαλλαρίων τὰ φίε, στὴν Μεσαρέαν τοῦ ἐδόθησαν· κάστρον ἐποῖκε ἐκεῖσε, κι ὠνόμασε τὴν Ἄκοβαν· οὕτως τὴν ὀνομάζουν. Ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐδόθησαν ὁμοίως τοῦ μισὶρ Οὔγκου ἐκείνου ντὲ Μπρίερες [ἦτον] τὸ ἐπίκλην του εἰς τῶν Σκορτῶν τὸν δρόγγον· εἰκοσιδύο καβαλλαρίων τὰ φίε τὸν ἐδῶκαν. Τὸ παραλάβει τὲς προνοίες ἔχτισε κάστρο ἐκεῖσε, Καρύταιναν τ᾽ ὠνόμασαν, οὕτως τὸ λέγουν πάλε. Ἐκεῖνος υἱὸν ἐγέννησε, μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀφέντην τῆς Καρύταινας, οὕτως τὸν ὠνόμαζαν, ὅπου ἦτον εἰς τὴν Ρωμανίαν ἐξάκουστος στρατιώτης. Ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάλε ἔγραφεν τρίτος μπαροῦς ἐκεῖνος, μισὶρ Γουλιάμο τὸν ἔλεγαν, τὸ ἐπίκλη εἶχε Ἀλλαμάνος· ἡ Πάτρα γὰρ τοῦ ἔγραφεν νὰ ἔχη καὶ ἀφεντεύῃ μὲ ὅλην της τὴν διακράτησιν τοῦ ἐδόθη νὰ τὴν ἔχη. Ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐδόθη ἡ μπαρουνία μισὶρ Μαΐου ἐκείνου ντὲ Μοῦς εἶχεν τὸ ἐπίκλην του, οὕτως τὸν ὠνόμαζαν· τὸ κάστρον τῆς Βελίγοστης καβαλλαρίων τεσσάρων τὰ φίε νὰ τὰ ὑποκρατοῦν καὶ φλάμουρον βαστάζῃ. Ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάλε ἔγραφεν ἄλλος μισὶρ Γουλιάμος νὰ ἔχῃ τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Νικλίου κι αὐτὸ μὲ ἕξι φίε. Ἄλλος πάλε ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ἔγραφεν στὸ βιβλίον·	Si fu trové que messire Gautiers de Rosieres si estoit assenés a la baronnie de Mathegriffon de .xxiiij. fiés de chevaliers; messire Goffroy de Bruieres, de .xxij. fiez a la baronnie de l'Escorta; messire Guill[er]me Alemant, a la cité de Patras ou toute la baronnie; messire Mahieu de Mons, a la cité de Veligurt ou tout .iiij. fiez; messire . . . , la cité de Nicles ou tout .vj. fiez; messire Gui de Nivelet, le Gierachy par la Cremenie ou tout .iiij. fiez; et messire Otthe de Tournay, la baronnie de la Colovrate ou tout .iiij. fiez; messire Ougues de . . . , la baronnie de la Grite ou tout .iiij. fiez; et messire Jehan le marescal de Nulli, la baronnie de Passavant ou tout .iiij. fiez; le evesque de Modon, .iiij. fiez; le evesque de Coron, .iiij. fiez; le evesque de Veligurt et de Ni-	. . . ordenaron [. . .] que á micer Galter el Alamany fuesse dada la baronia de Patras con .xxiiij. cauallerias de tierra & de villanos; & á micer Gautier de Rosieres fuese dado en la Misserea una baronia, la qual se clama Matagrifon en franco & en griego Acoua, con .xxiiij. cauallerias de tierra & de villanos. Et á micer Jufre de Brieres fuesse dado en baronia el castiello del Bucelleto, clamado en griego Oroclauo, en la Escorta, con .xxij. cauallerias de tierra, el qual micer Jufre fizo alli un castiello, el qual se clama agora Quarantana; á micer Johan, un cauallero de Burgunya, qui era grant merechal de la huest & de la terra, fue dado en las partidas de la marina de Laucedemonia, .xij. cauallerias de terra & de villanos en baronia, & aqui fizo un castiello, el qual se clamó	. . . il primo scritto era Miser Gualtier de Ruzieri, il qual avea 24 Cavalline nel mezzo della Morea, il qual fece un castello ivi e lo nominò Arcona. Il 2o fù Miser Ongon de Prieres, il qual avea 22 Cavalline, il qual avute, ivi costrusse un castello nominato Charitena; il qual Miser Ongon generò un fiol detto Miser Zuffrè, il qual militò in Romania con grande onor e si chiamò Miser Zuffrè de Charitena. Il 3o Baron fù Miser Guglielmo Alemanno, a cui fù destinato Patras con tutto il suo territorio. Il 4o Baron fù Miser Majo de Muzzi, il qual avè il castello de Veligosti con 4 Cavalline sottoposte a portar l'insegna; Un'altro Miser Guglielmo ebbe il castel di Nicli. Un'altro detto Miser Giva de Muilet ebbe loco in Zaconia, ch'è Lacedemonia, e fabricò

μισὶρ Γιουῦν τὸν ἔλεγαν ντὲ Νιβηλὲ τὸ ἐπίκλην·
ἔξι φίε τοῦ ἐδόθησαν νὰ ἔχῃ εἰς τὴν Τσακωνίαν·
κάστρον ἔχτισεν ἐκεῖ, τὸ ὠνόμασεν Γεράκι.
Τὸν μισὲρ Ὄτον ντὲ Ντουρνᾶ ἐπρόνοιασεν ὡσαύτως
νὰ ἔχῃ τὰ Καλάβρυτα καὶ φίε δέκα καὶ δύο.
Ἀπαύτου ἔγραφεν ὁμοίως ὁ μισὶρ Οὖγκος ντὲ Λέλε
νὰ ἔχῃ ὀχτὼ καβαλλαρίων φίε εἰς τὴν Βοστίτσαν·
ἀφῆκεν τὸ ἐπίκλην του, ντὲ Τσερπηνὴ ὠνομάστη.
Τοῦ μισὶρ Λούκα ἐδόθησαν τέσσαρα φίε καὶ μόνον, τῶν
Λάκκων τὴν περιοχὴν νὰ ἔχῃ τῶν Γριτσένων.
Τοῦ μισὶρ Ντζᾶ γὰρ ντὲ Νουηλὴ ὁ Πασαβὰς τοῦ
    ἐδόθη
καὶ τέσσαρα φίε νὰ κρατῇ, φλάμουρον νὰ βασταίνῃ,
νὰ ἔνι πρωτοστράτορας, νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ ἰγονικόν του.
Τοῦ μισὶρ Ρουμπέρτου ντὲ Τρεμουλᾶ τέσσαρα φίε τοῦ
    ἐδῶκαν·
τὴν Χαλαντρίτσαν ἔχτισεν κ’ ἐλέγαν τον ἀφέντην
Τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ὁσπιταλίου τέσσαρα φίε τοῦ
    ἐδῶκαν·
τοῦ Τέμπλου ἄλλα τέσσαρα φλάμουρον νὰ σηκώνῃ·
εἶθ’ οὕτως γὰρ ἐδόθησαν κι αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀλλαμάνων
τέσσαρα φίε τοῦ νὰ κρατοῦν στὰ μέρη Καλομμάτας.
Τοῦ μητροπολίτη τῆς Πατροῦ μετὰ τοὺς κανονίκους
ὀχτὼ φίε καβαλλαρίων τοῦ ἔδωκαν νὰ ἔχῃ·
ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ὤλενας τέσσαρα φίε τοῦ ἐδῶκαν,
καὶ τῆς Μεθώνης ἀλλὰ δὴ κ’ ἐκείνου τῆς Κορώνης
πρὸς τέσσαρα τοὺς ἔδωκαν μετὰ τοὺς κανονίκους·
εἶθ’ οὕτως τῆς Βελίγοστης κ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ Ἀμυκλίου
ὅλοι πρὸς τέσσαρα εἴχασιν σὺν τῆς Λακοδαιμονίας.
Ἐτοῦτοι ὅλοι, ὅπου μὲ ἀκούεις καὶ λέγω κι ὀνομάζω,
εὑρέθησαν εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Καμπανέση ἐκείνου
ἔγραφου εἰς τὸ ρουντζέστρο του, ὅπου ἦσαν

cles, .iiij. fiez; et l’evesque de la Cremonie, .iiij. fiez. Tous ces barons et prelas furent assené dou temps au Champenois, et pluseurs chevaliers, escuiers et sergans assés, de quoy li livres ne fait mencion cy endroit.

Passaua, & por el nombre de aquel castiello era clamado el dicho micer Johan, micer Johan de Passava.

A micer Jufre d’Escaldron fizieron grant conestable & le dieron, en baronia, en el plano de la Morea, .xxij. cauallerias de terra & de villanos, & el dicho micer Jufre fizo aqui un castiello, el qual se clama la Estamirra; & á micer Gui le fue dado, en baronia, en las partidas de la marina de Lacedemonia & en las partidas de la marina del golfo de Corento, .xij. cauallerias de tierra & de villanos, & en las partidas de la marina de Lacedemonia fizo un castiello & clamóse Lello.

Et apres poco tempo el dicho micer Gui murió & dexó un fiio, el qual auia nombre micer Hugo, & por aquesto qu’el dicho micer Hugo era nascido en un casal que se clama Cherpini, lo nombraron micer Hugo Cherpini. Et aquesti micer Hugo Cherpini fizo el castiello de la Bostiça.

un castello detto Gerachii. A Miser Otto de Gurna fù dato Calabrita. A Miser Ugon de Lels fù dato la Voltizza, loco tra Patras e Coranto a marina. A Miser Luca de Serpi fù dato il loco detto Laco Grisco. A Miser Zuan Menoili il loco detto Parsuna, e portar insegna, e che fosse prontostatora Capitano dell’Essercito, e che l’avesse ereditario. A Miser Ruberto Tremiglia la Calandrizza, la qual esso fabricò, e veniva chiamato Signor dell’Ospedal di S. Giovanni del Tempio, e che’l levasse l’insegna. All’Alemanno 4 Cavalline verso Calamata, al Metropolitan de Patras e Archivescovo con li suoi Canonici 8 Cavalline, al Vescovo di Selina 4, a quel de Modon 2, a quel de Coron con li Canonici 4; e altretanto a quel di Veligosti e Nicli e Lacedemonia. Li quali tutti se ritrovavan nel tempo del Zampanese scritti nel suo registro, come eran parti-

προνοιασμένοι.
\<Οἱ\> καβαλλάριοι, ὅπου εἴχασιν πρὸς ἕνα φίε ὁ
    καθένας,
καὶ οἱ σιργέντες ἀλλὰ δή, ὅπου ἦσαν προνοιασμένοι,
οὐδὲν τοὺς ὀνομάζομεν διὰ τὴν πολυγραφίαν.

Et á micer Jufre de Tornay fue dado, en las partidas del dongo de la Cloquina, .xij. cavallerias de terra & de villanos, en baronia, & aqueste micer Jufre fizo un castiello, el qual se clamava la Calandrica.

Et á micer Johan de Niuelet fue dado, en baronia, en diuersos lugares, .vj. cauallerias de terra & de villanos, & fizo un castiello, el qual se clama Fanar.

Et á micer Chiper de Cors fue dado, en baronia, en diuersos lugares, .iiij. cauallerias de terra & de villanos, & fizo un castiello, el qual se clama Mitopoli.

Et á micer Jufre de Anoe fue dada la Archadia, en baronia, con .viij. cavallerias de terra & de villanos.

Et á un otro gentil cauallero fue dado, en las partidas de Corento, .vj. cauallerias de tierras & de villanos, en baronia, & fizo un castiello qui se clama Eldamala.

En las partidas de Calamata & de la Escorta cipi, e li sergenti, ch'eran feudati, ne avean due. Delli altri non facemmo menzion, per non moltiplicar.

fue dado á hun cavallero, en baronia, quatro cavallerias de tierra & de villanos, & fue nombrada la caualleria o baronia de la Gresena.

Et á micer Jacomo de la Rocia fuele dado, en baronia, en las partidas de los Esclavones & de la Escorta, quatro cauallerias de tierras & de villanos, & fizo un castiello, el qual se clamaua Viligort, & por aquel era clamado el senyor micer Jacomo de Viligort.

Et á los prelados fue dado: al arçobispo de Patras con sus calonge fue dado .viij. cauallerias de tierras & de villanos; & al obispo de Corento con sus canonges fue dado .viij. cauallerias de tierras & de villanos; & al obispo de Cedemonia con sus canonges fue dado .viij. cauallerias de terras & de villanos.

Et [al] bispe de Olina fue dado con sus calonges quatro cavallerias de tierras & de villanos; al bispe de Modon con sus calonges fue dado

quatro cauallerias de tierras & de villanos.

Al bispo de Coron con sus calonges fue dado quatro cauallerias de tierras & de villanos; al bispo d'Argo con sus calonges fue dado quatro cauallerias de tierras & de villanos; al bispo de Nicli con sus calonges fue dado quatro cauallerias de tierras & de villanos.

Al espital de Sant Johan fue dado quatro cauallerias de tierras & villanos. A los Templeros fue dado .iiij. cauallerias de tierra & de villanos. A los frayres Alamanyes fue dado .iiij. cauallerias de tierras & de villanos.

Et despues fue partido á los caualleros qui no eran varones. Primerament á aquellos de la Montea fue dado quatro cauallerias de tierras & de villanos. Et [á] aquellos de Vidoni fue dado quatro cauallerias de tierras et de villanos. Et ad aquellos de Lini fue dado tres cauallerias de tierras & de villanos.

Et ad aquellos de Fuchar-
oles fue dado en la partida de
Corento & de Argo tres
cauallerias de tierras & de vil-
lanos; & á muchos otros
caualleros & nobles escuderos
que no cabe aqui nombrar
fue dado aqui dos cauallerias
& aqui una caualleria; & á
muchos otros escuderos fue
dado aqui una sarianteria &
aqui una media sarianteria.

H vv.1911–67	B §128	Arag. §§117–33	Ital. pp.428–9

The first who was written there was Sir Gautier, whose patronymic was de Rosieres, that was his name; he had twenty-four knights' fees in Messarea given to him; he built a castle there and called it Akova, and so it is still called.

Next, there were likewise given to Sir Hugues, whose patronymic was de Briel, twenty-two knights' fees in the defiles of Escorta; having received his *pronoia*, he built a castle there, and they called it Karytaina, as indeed is still its name today; he fathered a son, Sir Geoffroy, the lord of Karytaina, as

And it was found there that Sir Gautier de Rosieres had been assigned twenty-four knights' fees in the barony of Mattegriffon; Sir Geoffroy de Briel, twenty-two fiefs in the barony of Escorta; Sir Guillaume le Alemans, at the city of Patras, the entire barony; Sir Matthieu de Mons, at the city of Veligourt, that is to say a total of three fiefs; Sir . . . , at the city of Nikli, a total of six fiefs; Sir Guy de Nivelet, Geraki in Lacedaemonia, or a total of four fiefs; and Sir Othon de Tournay, the barony of Kalavryta, or a total of four fiefs;

. . . they agreed [. . .] that to Sir Gautier le Alemans should be given the barony of Patras with twenty-four knights' fees of land and villeins; and to Sir Gautier de Rosieres should be given a barony in the region of Messarea, which is called Mattegriffon in French and Akova in Greek, with twenty-four knights' fees of land and villeins.

And to Sir Geoffroy de Briel should be given as a barony the castle of Bucelet, called Araklovon in Greek, in the Escorta, together with twenty-two knights' fees of land, and this Sir Geoffroy built a

. . . the first written there was Sir Gautier de Rosieres, who had twenty-four knights' fees in the middle of the Morea, and who built a castle there which he called Arcona.

The second was Sir Hugues de Briel, who had twenty-two knights' fees and, having received these, built there a castle called Karytaina; this Sir Hugues fathered a son called Sir Geoffroy, who fought in Romania and won much honour there, and he was called Sir Geoffroy de Karytaina.

The third baron was Sir Guil-

he was called, who was a renowned soldier in Romania.

Next was written the third baron, who was called Sir Guillaume, and whose patronymic was Alemans, and it was written that he would hold and rule over Patras, as well as all its domain. Next, Sir Mathieu, whose patronymic was de Mons, thus he was called, was granted as a barony the castle of Veligosti with four knights' fees and the right to carry a banner. Next another Sir Guillaume who was to have the castle of Nikli together with six fiefs.

After this was written in the register the name of Sir Guy, whose patronymic was de Nivelet; he was given six fiefs for him to hold in Tsakonia; he built a castle there which he called Geraki. They similarly granted *a pronoia* to Sir Hugues de Lille of eight knights' fees in Vostista; he abandoned his patronymic and called himself de Charpigny. They gave Sir Luc only four fiefs–he was to hold the region of Lakkos in Gritsena. To Sir Jean de Neuilly were given Passavant together with four fiefs, the

Sir Hugues de ..., the barony of Vostitsa, or a total of four fiefs; and Sir Jehan de Nully, the Marshal, the barony of Passavant or a total of four fiefs; to the bishop of Modon, four fiefs; the bishop of Coron, four fiefs; the bishop of Veligosti and Nikli, four fiefs; and the bishop of Lacedaemonia, four fiefs. All these barons and prelates were enfeoffed in the time of Champenois, and many other knights, squires, and sergeants, whom the book does not mention here.

castle there which is today called Karytaina; to Sir Jean, a knight from Burgundy, who was Grand Marshal of the army and of the country, were given in the coastal area of Lacedaemonia twelve knights' fees of land and villeins as a barony, and there he built a castle which was called Passavant, and because of the name of this castle, the aforesaid Sir Jean was called Sir Jean de Passavant.

Sir Geoffroy de Chauderon they made Grand Constable and gave, as a barony, in the plain of the Morea, twenty-two knights' fees of lands and villeins, and this aforesaid Sir Geoffroy built a castle which is called Estamirra; and to Sir Guy were given, as a barony in the coastal areas of Lacedaemonia and in the coastal areas of the Gulf of Corinth, twelve knights' fees of land and villeins, and in the coastal area of Lacedaemonia he built a castle which was called Lello.

And after a short while the aforesaid Sir Guy died, and was succeeded by a son who had the name of Sir Hugues, and because this Sir Hugues was born on an estate called Charpigny, they

laume d'Alemans, for whom Patras was set aside together with all its territory. The fourth baron was Sir Mathieu de Mons, who had the castle of Veligosti together with four knights' fees and the right to carry a banner. Another Sir Guillaume received the castle of Nikli. Another, called Sir Guy de Nivelet, received a place in Tsakonia, which is Lacedaemonia, and he built a castle called Geraki. To Sir Othon de Tournay was given Kalavryta. To Sir Hugues de Lille was given Vostitsa, a place between Patras and Corinth on the coast. To Sir Luc de Serpi was given the place called Lakkos Gritsena. It was determined that Sir Jean de Nully should have the place called Passavant, and the right to raise a banner, and that he should be *protostrator* or captain of the army, and that this was to be a hereditary office. To Sir Robert de Tremolay, Chalandritsa, which was built by him, and he came to be called Lord of the Hospital of Saint John of the Temple and raised his banner [sic]. To the German [sic], four knights' fees near Kalamata; to the metropoli-

right to raise a banner, and the office of *protostrator* which was made hereditary. To Sir Robert de Tremolay they gave four fiefs; he built Chalandritsa and they called him lord.

To Saint John of the Hospital four fiefs were given; to the Order of the Temple another four and the right to raise a banner; in the same way they gave the Teutonic Knights four fiefs to hold in the region of Kalamata. To the metropolitan bishop of Patras with his canons they gave possession of eight knights' fees; to the bishop of Olena they gave four fiefs, and to those of Modon and Coron with their canons they gave four to each; similarly those of Veligosti, Nikli, and Lacedaemonia had four.

The knights, who each had a fief, and the sergeants likewise who received *pronoies*, we do not name because the list would be too long to write.

named him Sir Hugues de Charpigny. And this Sir Hugues de Charpigny built the castle of Vostitsa.

And to Sir Geoffroy de Tournay were given, in the region of the defiles of Klokina, twelve knights' fees of land and villeins, as a barony, and this Sir Geoffroy built a castle which was called Chalandritsa. And to Sir Jean de Nivelet were given, as a barony, in various locations, six knights' fees of land and villeins, and he built a castle which is called Phanari.

And to Sir Guibert de Cors were given, as a barony, in various locations, four knights' fees of land and of villeins, and he built a castle which is called Mitropoli.

And to Sir Geoffroy d'Aunoy was given Arcadia, as a barony, together with eight knights' fees of land and villeins.

And to another gentle knight were given, in the region of Corinth, six knights' fees of lands and villeins, as a barony, and he built a castle which is called Damalas.

In the region of Kalamata and of Escorta were given to one knight, as a barony, four knights' fees of

tan of Patras and archbishop together with his canons, eight knights' fees; to the bishop of Olena, four; to that of Modon, two, to that of Coron together with his canons, four; and the same again to those of Veligosti and Nikli and Lacedaemonia.

All these were to be found written, at the time of Champenois, in his register, as having received a portion, and the sergeants, who were feudatories, held two fiefs. The others we will not mention, so as not incur the charge of repetitiveness.

land and villeins, and the holding or barony was named Gritsena.

And to Sir Jacques de la Roche were given, as a barony, in the region of the Slavs and of Escorta, four knights' fees of lands and villeins, and he built a castle which was called Veligosti, and because of this the lord was called Sir Jacques de Veligourt.

And to the prelates were given as follows. To the archbishop of Patras together with his canons were given eight knights' fees of lands and villeins; and to the bishop of Corinth with his canons were given eight knights' fees of land and villeins; and to the bishop of Lacedaemonia together with his canons were given eight knights' fees of lands and villeins.

And to the bishop of Olena together with his canons were given four knights' fees of land and villeins; to the bishop of Modon together with his canons four knights' fees of lands and villeins.

To the bishop of Coron together with his canons were given four knights' fees of lands and villeins; to the bishop of Argos together with his canons were given four

knights' fees of lands and villeins; to the bishop of Nikli together with his canons were given four knights' fees of lands and villeins.

To the Hospital of Saint John were given four knights' fees of lands and villeins. To the Templars were given four knights' fees of lands and villeins. To the Teutonic Knights were given four knights' fees of lands and villeins.

And then portions were allotted to those knights who were not barons. First, to those of the Montea were given four knights' fees of lands and villeins. And to those of Vidoigne were given four knights' fees of lands and villeins. And to those of Lini were given three knights' fees of lands and villeins.

And to those of Foucherolles were given, in the region of Corinth and Argos, three knights' fees of land and villeins; and to many other knights and noble squires, who cannot be named here for lack of space, were given: to some, two knight's holdings, to others, a single one; and to many of the remaining squires were given a sergeantry or a half sergeantry.

The Franks treat with the Greek *Archondes* at Andravida

When, shortly after the capture of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin Emperor, the Franks first arrive in the Peloponnese, a series of fortresses and towns surrender to them with little show of resistance, after which the local lords or *archondes* who control the countryside are easily persuaded to follow suit. Among the first to offer obeisance are the *archondes* of the north-western corner of the peninsula whose hereditary land-holdings are to be found in the region known as the 'Plain of the Morea'. In recompense for their willingness to accept the authority of the commander of the Frankish forces, Guillaume I de Champlitte, who goes on to become the first ruler of the Principality, these *archondes* are granted significant concessions.

H vv.1609–48	B §§105–7	Arag. §§107–9	Ital. p.425

... στὴν Ἀνδραβίδα ἐσῶσαν,
ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἦσαν οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ κάμπου τοῦ Μορέως.
Καὶ τότε ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρές, ὡς φρόνιμος ὅπου ἦτον,
ἐσώρεψεν τοὺς ἄρχοντες καὶ λέγει πρὸς ἐκείνους·
'Ἄρχοντες, φίλοι κι ἀδελφοί, ἀπάρτε καὶ συντρόφοι,
ἐσεῖς θεωρεῖτε, ἐβλέπετε τὸν ἀφέντην ἐτοῦτον,
ὅπου ἦλθε ἐδῶ εἰς τοὺς τόπους σας ὅπως νὰ τοὺς
    κερδίσῃ·
μηδὲν σκοπήσετε, ἄρχοντες, ὅτι διὰ κοῦρσον ἦλθεν,
νὰ ἐπάρῃ ῥοῦχα καὶ ζῷα καὶ νὰ μισέψῃ ἀπέδω·
ὡς φρόνιμος ποῦ σᾶς θεωρῶ πληροφορίαν σᾶς λέγω·
θεωρεῖτε τὰ φουσσᾶτα του, τὴν παρρησίαν ὅπου ἔχει.
ἀφέντης ἔνι, βασιλέας, καὶ ἦλθε νὰ κερδίσῃ.
Ἐσεῖς ἀφέντη οὐκ ἔχετε τοῦ νὰ σᾶς συμμαχήσῃ·
κι ἂν δράμουν τὰ φουσσᾶτα μας, τὸν τόπον σας
    κουρσέψειν,
νὰ αἰχμαλωτίσουν τὰ χωρία καὶ νὰ σφαγοῦν οἱ
    ἄνθρωποι
ὕστερον τί νὰ ποιήσετε, ὅταν σᾶς μετανοήσῃ;
λοιπὸν ἐμέναν φαίνεται διὰ καλλιώτερόν σας
νὰ ποιήσωμεν συμβίβασιν, νὰ λείψουν καὶ οἱ φόνοι,
τὰ κούρση κ' ἡ αἰχμαλωσία ἀπὸ τὰ ἰγονικά σας,
κ' ἐσεῖς ὅπου εἶστε φρόνιμοι κ' ἐξεύρετε τοὺς ἄλλους,
ὅπου εἶναι, λέγω, συγγενεῖς, φίλοι σας καὶ συντρόφοι,
πρᾶξιν νὰ ποιήσετε εἰς αὐτοὺς τοῦ νὰ ἔχουν
    προσκυνήσειν'.
Ἀκούσων ταῦτα οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὅλοι τὸ ἐπροσκυνῆσαν
ἀπόστειλαν καναπαντοῦ τοὺς ἀποκρισαρίους τους,

... de la vint a Andreville, laquelle estoit en cellui temps la maistre ville de la Morée. Et de present y entra, car il n'y avoit ne murs ne fortresse.

Et quant li noble homme dou plain de la Morée et le peuple des casaux de toute la contrée et des montaignes de l'Escorta virent que le Champenois conquestoit et prenoit ainxi les chastiaux et les villes dou païs, et il n'avoient ou il se peussent reduire, si se acorderent avec le Champenois en tel maniere que li gentil homme grec qui tenoient fiez et terres et les casaux dou pays eust cescun et tenist selonc sa qualité; et le surplus fust departi a nostre gent; et que le peuple payaissent et servicent ainxi comme il estoient usé a la seignorie de l'empereor de Costantinople.

... aquellos de la tierra de Andreuilla enuiaron enbaxadores á micer Guillem de Salut en Patras, como aquellos qui eran cabo de todo el plano de la Morea, que, pues qu'el era venido por conquistar, que non quisiese destruyr las villas y los casales, mas que se acordase con ellos que se querian render á éll.

Et miçer Guillem, oydo aquesto, tomó su conseio con toda la otra conpanya & deliberaron que era mellor reçebirla que non destruyr la tierra. De que ordenaron & fizieron sus pactos & convenencias, & el dicho miçer Guillem fue en Andreuilla & recibieronlo por senyor.

Et venido el dicho miçer Guillem en Andreuilla, aquellos del plano de la Gresera enuiaron sus enbaxadores al dicho miçer Guillem & acordaronse con

... e zonsero in Andravilla, ivi erano alcuni grandi Greci innemici reduttisi assieme, per contrastarli. Miser Zuffrè andò a questi, e parlandoli molto amorevolmente disse loro della grandezza del suo Signore, dell'...titolo, della dota sua, della sorte d'essi Greci, che non avean Signor, e che stavan meglio sotto Capo, che senza, e che questo suo Signor non vollea nè sua robba, nè altro di loro, ma solum quel che li venia de jure, e che altrimenti sariano guastati e rovinati. Persuasi li Greci s'inchinorono e mandorono loro nuncii a loro amici e parenti in quà e in là a persuaderli, che venissero e dassero obidienza a questo Signore, che sariano accarezzati, premiati ed onorati, perilchè molti Gentiluomini e popoli vennero ad inchinarsi, e giunti in

ἔνθα ἔξευραν ὅτι ἤσασιν φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς τους·
τὸ πρᾶγμα τους ἐδήλωσαν κ' ἐπληροφόρησάν τους·
ἀφροντισίαν τοὺς ἔστειλαν ἀπὸ τὸν Καμπανέσην·
ὅσοι βούλονται ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ νὰ ἔχουν προσκυνήσει,
τὰ ἰγονικά τους νὰ ἔχουσιν κι ἄλλα πλεῖον νὰ τοὺς
   δώσῃ·
ὅσοι τὸ ἀξιάζουν κι ὠφελοῦν τιμὴν μεγάλην νὰ ἔχουν.
Κι ὡς τὸ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ὁμοίως,
ἀρχίσαν καὶ ἐρχόντησαν κ' ἐπροσκυνοῦσαν ὅλοι·
κι ἀφότου ἐσωρεύτησαν ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἀνδραβίδα,
τὸ ἀρχοντολόγι τοῦ Μορέως, ὅλης τῆς Μεσαρέας,
ἐποίκασιν συμβίβασιν μετὰ τὸν Καμπανέσην,
ὅτι ὅλα τὰ ἀρχοντόπουλα, ὅπου εἴχασιν προνοῖες,
νὰ ἔχουσιν ὁ κατὰ εἷς, πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν ὅπου εἶχεν,
τὴν ἀνθρωπέαν καὶ τὴν στρατείαν, τόσον νὰ τοῦ
   ἐνεμείνῃ,
καὶ τ' ἄλλο τὸ περσότερον νὰ μερίζουν οἱ Φράγκοι·
καὶ οἱ χωριάτες τῶν χωριῶν νὰ στέκουν ὡσὰν τοὺς
   ηὖραν.

éll assi como los de Andre-
villa.

Andravilla tutti li Nobili
della Morea, fatto accordo
con Zampanese, perchè
tutti li Nobili, che aveano
frutti, li ritenessero inse-
guendo la gente, che teni-
van, e seguendo le
condizion loro: il resto, che
fosse di più, che avanzasse
alli detti, li Franchi si partis-
sero fra loro, che li villaggi
rimanessero secondo si ri-
trovavano . . .

H vv.1609–48	B §§105–7	Arag. §§107–9	Ital. p.425

. . . they got to Andravida, where the *archondes* of the Plain of the Morea were. And then Sir Geoffroy, being a prudent man, collected the *archondes* together and says to them: 'Archondes, friends and brothers, and you who are also henceforth my companions, you yourselves can see and observe

. . . from there, he [i.e. Guillaume de Champlitte, also known as the Champenois] went to Andravida, which was then the largest town in the Morea. And he entered it immediately, for there was neither wall nor fortress to stop him.

And when the nobility of the plain of the Morea and the inha-

. . . those of the land of Andravida sent ambassadors to Sir Guillaume de Champlitte in Patras, as did those who controlled the entirety of the Plain of the Morea, that, since he had come to conquer, they begged him not to destroy the manors and estates there, but instead to come to an agreement

. . . and when he [i.e. Guillaume de Champlitte, also known as the Champenois] came to Andravida, he found there some important Greeks who were his enemies and had gathered together to oppose the Franks. Sir Geoffroy went to them, and addressed them with much kindness, telling them of

this lord who came here to your lands in order to win them. Do not think, *archondes*, that he came here for booty, to seize your moveable goods and livestock, and then depart! I can see that you are prudent men, so let me tell you how things stand. Observe his armies, and his noble demeanour: he is a true lord, an "Emperor", and he has come here to conquer! You have no lord here to fight on your side, and if our armies go and pillage your lands, enslaving the villages and slaughtering the population, what then will become of you, when you have changed your mind and regret your former decision? Therefore, it seems to me that it would be better for you if we were to reach an agreement, and the killing, the raiding, and the enslavement cease on your hereditary land-holdings, and that, in your wisdom, you contact those whom you know, your kinsmen, friends, and companions, and persuade them to do obeisance.'

When the *archondes* heard this, they all agreed with it, and they also sent their messengers hither and thither, wherever they knew bitants of the surrounding countryside and of the mountains of Escorta saw that the Champenois was conquering and taking the castles and towns of the land in this manner, and that they had nowhere to take refuge, they agreed with the Champenois this wise: that the Greek noblemen who held the fiefs and estates and lands of the region here would continue to hold them, each according to his rank, and that the surplus would be divided among our men; and that the common people would continue to pay and do service as they had been accustomed to do under the lordship of the emperor of Constantinople.

with them, seeing as they wished to surrender to him.

And Sir Guillaume, upon hearing this, took counsel with the rest of his company, and they determined that it was better to receive the surrender of this land than to lay waste to it. And so they made and drew up their pacts and agreements, and the aforesaid Guillaume went to Andravida and they received him as lord.

And, after the aforesaid Guillaume had gone to Andravida, those of the Plain of Glisère sent their ambassadors to the aforesaid Sir Guillaume and made an agreement with him as those of Andravida had done.

the greatness of his lord, of his . . . title, and his natural abilities; he spoke of the future that awaited the Greeks should they remain without a lord, stressing to them that they would be better under a leader than without one; he assured them that this man, his lord, did not want their moveable goods or anything else of theirs, but only whatever was justly his, and he warned them that, if they decided otherwise, they would be wrecked and ruined.

Persuaded by this, the Greeks did obeisance to the Champenois and sent their messengers hither and thither to their friends and kinsmen, to convince them that they too should come and pledge obedience to this lord, who would cherish, reward and honour them. As a result of this, many noblemen and common folk came and did obeisance, and, all the nobles of the Morea being assembled together at Andravida, an agreement was made with the Champenois, that all the nobles who had possessions would continue to hold them as they had done before, in accordance with their rank and the size

their friends and kinsmen to be, and informed them of the situation, and made it known to them, conveying to them from the Champenois [Guillaume de Champlitte] a promise of safe-conduct according to which all those who desired to go and do obeisance to him would keep their hereditary land-holdings, and receive more besides; and to all those who were deserving and had it owing to them great honour would be bestowed. When this promise was heard by the *archondes* and by the common folk, they all began to come and do obeisance, and when all the nobility of the Morea and of Messarea had gathered at Andravida, they made an agreement with the Champenois, that all the *archondopoula*, each and every one who had *pronoia*, would do homage and service according to his rank, with no change, while whatever remained, this being the greater part, would be shared out among the Franks. As for the peasants, they would stay in their villages just as they had been found.

of their entourage: the land which was left after the agreement, and that was the greater part of the territory, the Franks would divide among themselves. As for the peasants, they would remain as they had been found . . .

PASSAGE IV

The Siege of Nauplion

Shortly after becoming prince, Guillaume II de Villehardouin campaigns in order to conquer the few remaining fortresses that persist in resisting the Franks. His first destination is the fortress of Nauplion in the north-east Peloponnese, which eventually surrenders to him on rather remarkable terms.

. . . ἀπήλθασιν τὰ κάτεργα ὁλόρθα εἰς τὸ Ἀνάπλι· τὸ κάστρον ἐσεντζίασιν ἐκ μέρους τῆς θαλάσσης, κι ὁ πρίγκιπας ἐκ τὴν στερεὰν μὲ τὰ φουσσᾶτα του ὅλα. Τὸ καλοκαῖρι ἐπέρασεν, ὁ χειμῶνας εἰσῆλθεν, κἀκεῖσε ἐξεχειμάσασιν τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. Κι ὡς ἦλθε ὁ δεύτερος καιρός, ἦλθε τὸ καλοκαῖριν, κ' εἶδαν τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ἀναπλίου τὸ πῶς ἔνι κλεισμένον, κι οὐκ εἶχαν τίποτε ποσῶς καμμίαν βοήθειαν νὰ ἔλθῃ, ἐποίησαν συμβίβασιν κ' ἐδώκασιν τὸ κάστρον. Τὸ Ἀνάπλι γὰρ εὑρίσκετον κάστρον εἰς δύο τραχώνια· ἐν τούτῳ ἐσυμβιβάστησαν νὰ δώσουσιν τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ἀχαμνότερον νὰ τὸ κρατοῦν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι· μεθ' ὅρκου καὶ προστάγματα τὲς συμφωνίες ἐποῖκαν. Κι ἀφότου ἐπαράλαβεν ὁ πρίγκιπας τὸ Ἀνάπλι, μὲ προθυμίαν τὸ ἐχάρισεν τότε τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ εἰς κληρονομίαν ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὸ Ἄργος. Τὴν χάριν, ὅπου ἐχάρισεν ὁ πρίγκιπας, τὸ Ἀνάπλι κ' εἶθ' οὕτως τὸ Ἄργος ἐνομοῦ τότε τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, ἦτον διὰ τὴν συνδρομὴν ὅπου ἔποικεν ἐτότε ὁ Μέγας Κύρης, σὲ λαλῶ, στὸ πιάσμα τῆς Κορίνθου, ὡσαύτως διατὸ ἀπάντεχεν ὁ πρίγκιπας μετ' αὐτὸν νὰ τοῦ βοηθήσῃ εἰς τὸν πιασμὸν κάστρου Μονοβασίας.	. . . et alerent assiegier le chastel de Naples par terre, et les .iiij. galies l'asiegerent par mer, tant que cil dou chastel virent bien qu'il ne se pooient longuement tenir, pour ce qu'il voient de certain qu'il ne porroient avoir secours de nulle part, ne par terre, ne par mer. Lors s'acorderent avec le prince en tel maniere que, pour ce que le chastel de Naples a .ij. fortresses, que li Latin tenissent et gardaissent l'une et li arconde grec l'autre. Et puis que les lettres de leurs convenances furent faites et seelées du seel dou prince et dou seignour d'Atthenes et des autres barons, et orent juré et plevy loialment de tenir et maintenir leurs covenances fermement, par eulx et par leurs hoirs, si fu randus li chastiaux au prince. Et quant li princes Guil-	. . . et venidas las gualeas, el princep con toda su gent fueron á Napol de la Morea & assitiólo por mar & por tierra. Et aturó tanto alli que á los gentiles hombres qui eran de dentro agreuió, & vidiendo que non podian auer ninguna ayuda, se rendieron al princep con ciertos patios. Et el princep, auido Napol, por aquesto que micer Guillem de la Rocia, senyor del ducame, era en su conpanya & lo auia seruido mucho bien en recobrar el castiello de Corento, & por aquesto éll le dió la ciudad de Argo & el castiello de Napol.	Indì le gallie andorono sotto Napoli con la gente da terra, e l'obsidiorono, e passato l'inverno e l'estate e un'altro inverno e un'altro estate senza ottenirla, finalmente quelli della terra, non li venendo soccorso doppo tanta e sì lunga obsidione, si resero con questi patti, che li due castelli, ch'erano, quel da Levante fosse de Franchi, e quel da Ponente fosse de Greci. Finalmente ebbe il Principe anco Argos per dedizione con promessa, che li Greci tenessero le loro baronie si come anco avea pattizato Napoli.

lerme fu en possession dou beau chastel de Naples, si le donna benignement a messire Guillerme de la Roche, le seignor d'Atthenes, ou tout la cité et le chastel d'Argues avec les appartenances. Et tout ce fist il pour la grant bonté et bone compaignie que il lui tint au siege de Corinte, et pour celle qu'il attendoit a avoir ancores de lui a Malevesie.

H vv.2862–83	B §§198–200	Arag. §§211–12	Ital. p.436
. . . the galleys went straight to Nauplion, where they laid siege to the castle from the sea, while the Prince with all his armies did likewise from the land. Summer passed, and winter came, and those who were blockading the castle by land and sea wintered there, and when the seasons changed again, and summer came, and those of the castle of Nauplion saw that they were completely cut off, and could expect no help whatsoever to arrive, they came to terms and sur-	. . . and they went to lay siege to the castle of Nauplion from the land while the four galleys besieged it from the sea, with such resolve that it became clear to the defenders of the castle that they could not hold out for long, because it was certain that they could not receive any aid whatsoever, whether by land, or by sea. So they made an agreement with the Prince in this wise: that, because the castle of Nauplion had two fortresses, the Latins would	. . . and when the galleys had come, the Prince with all his men went to Nauplion in the Morea and laid siege to it by land and sea. And he remained there for so long that he made the noblemen who were inside despair, and they, realizing that they could not receive any aid, surrendered to the Prince according to the terms of certain pacts. And the Prince, having taken Nauplion, gave the castle of Nauplion and the city of Argos to Sir Guillaume de la	From there, the galleys and the land troops went to Nauplion, and laid siege to it, and when winter and summer had passed, and another winter and another summer without the castle being taken, at last those of the region, having received no aid during such a long and resolute siege, surrendered according to these pacts: that, of the two castles there, the one to the east would belong to the Franks, and the one to the west to the Greeks. Finally, that the Prince

rendered the castle.

Now, Nauplion was a castle on two ridges, and they agreed that the first would be surrendered, and that the other, lower one, would be kept by the Romans [Greeks]. This agreement was solemnized by the taking of an oath and with a written charter.

And when the Prince had received Nauplion, he gladly bestowed it upon the Megas Kyr, for him to hold as his inheritance together with Argos. This gift, I say, of Nauplion and also of Argos, which the Prince bestowed upon the Megas Kyr was for the contribution he, the Megas Kyr, had made to the capture of Corinth, and also because the Prince expected him to help with the capture of Monemvasia.

hold one and the Greek *archondes* the other. And when the treaties were written up and sealed with the seal of the Prince and of the Lord of Athens and of the other barons, and when they had loyally sworn and pledged to maintain their treaties and hold fast to them, both they and their heirs, the castle was surrendered to the Prince.

And when the Prince came into possession of the fine castle of Nauplion, he graciously bestowed it upon Sir Guillaume de la Roche, the lord of Athens, together with the city and castle of Argos and the relevant appurtenances. And all this was done because Guillaume had shown great willingness and proved himself a stalwart companion at the siege of Corinth, and it was expected that he would do the same again at Monemvasia.

Roche, lord of the Duchy, because he was part of his company and had performed service, assisting him greatly in recovering the castle of Corinth.

would also receive Argos as tribute after making the promise that the Greeks there would retain their baronies just as it had already been agreed in the case of Nauplion.

PASSAGE V

The Heroics of Geoffroy de Briel at Pelagonia

A marriage alliance between the Despot of Epirus and the Prince of Morea embroils the latter in a war with the Byzantines of Nicaea over control of northern Greece. On the eve of the battle of Pelagonia, near to Kastoria, the two leaders of the allied army resolve, together with the other nobility, to leave the field in secret during the night, abandoning their foot-soldiers to their fate. Their covert plans, however, are immediately revealed by Geoffroy de Briel, who, as a result, succeeds in shaming the Prince, Guillaume II de Villehardouin, into fighting the next day. The first battalion of the Nicene troops is the most feared by Guillaume II and his men, for it is a cavalry battalion made up of German mercenaries led by the Duke of Cariniole or Carinthia, and is heavily armed in the western style. However, Geoffroy de Briel, who commands the first Moreot battalion, succeeds practically single-handedly in routing the Germans, much to the dismay of the Byzantine general who observes the scene.

Τὸ πρῶτο ἀλλάγι ὅπου εἴχασιν ἦτον τῶν Ἀλλαμάνων· τὸ ἰδεῖ τους γὰρ ὁ ἐξάκουστος ὁ ἀφέντης τῆς Καρυταίνου, ὁλόρθα εἰς αὐτοὺς ὥρμησεν, ἔσκυψαν τὰ κοντάρια. Τὸν πρῶτον ὅπου ἀπάντησεν κ᾽ ἐδῶκεν κονταρέαν ἦτον ἐκεῖνος ποὺ ἔλεγαν Δοῦκα ντὲ Καρεντάνα· στὸ στῆθος τὸν ἐβάρεσεν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ σκουτάριν, μὲ τὸ φαρὶν τὸν ἔρριξεν εἰς γῆν ἀποθαμένον· ἀπαύτου ἔδειρε ἄλλους δύο ὅπου ἦσαν συγγενεῖς του. Τὸ κοντάρι ὅπου ἐβάσταζεν ἐκόπη εἰς τρία κομμάτια· κ᾽ εὐθέως ἐγρήγορα ἔβαλεν τὸ χέριν στὸ σπαθί του καὶ ἄρξετον νὰ πολεμῇ ἐκείνους τοὺς Ἀλλαμάνους· ὅσοι τοῦ ἐρχόντησαν ὀμπρὸς διὰ νὰ τὸν πολεμήσουν, ὅλους τοὺς ἐκατέκοφτεν ὡς χόρτον εἰς λιβάδι.	. . . les Alemans, qui aloient au front devant, si assemblerent au seignor de Caraintaine; et li sires de Caraintaines, qui estoit uns des plus vaillans chevaliers dou monde a cellui temps, les reçut moult hardiement. Et au ferir des lances, si assembla le sire de Caraintaine au duc de Carinée, qui estoit .j. des nobles et vaillans princes d'Alemaigne. Si le feri par aÿr qu'il abati lui et le cheval en .j. mont. Et au cheoir qu'il fist, si se rompy le col et devia. Et de present après, si abati .ij. autres barons alemans qui estoient parans dou duc. Et quant sa lance fu brisié, si mist main a l'espée et commença a faire si grant occision que a merveille le tenoient tout cil qui le veoient.	Et micer Jufre, huyendo el comandamiento de su senyor, como ardit & buen cauallero, dió de espuelas á su cauallo & fue á encontrarse con el duch de Quarantana & firiólo de la lança en el escudo & passólo dela otra part & echólo muerto en tierra; & despues echó mano á la espada & començó á ferir muy fuertment entra la batalla de los Alamanes, & en poca de ora los rompió.	. . . il qual Signor fattosi innanzi, primo di tutti con la lancia si mise contro nemici, e incontratosi nel Duca di Carintia li diede nel petto e lo scavalcò morto; similmente ammazzò due altri, e rotta la lancia, snudò la spada e fece gran prove . . .

H vv.4017–32	B §297	Arag. §276	Ital. p.445
The first battalion they had was that of the Germans, and when the renowned lord of Karytaina saw them, he immediately rushed at them, and they couched their lances. The first he met and to whom he dealt a blow of the lance was he who was called Duke of Carinthia, and striking him on the chest, where his shield was raised for protection, he flung him lifeless onto the ground together with his horse. After that he slew two others who were the Duke's kinsmen. The lance which he held shattered into three pieces, and so he quickly drew his sword and began to do battle in earnest with the Germans, and all those who came to fight him he mowed down like hay in a field.	. . . the Germans, who were riding out in front, headed straight for the lord of Karytaina; and that lord, who was one of the most valiant knights in the world at this time, received them most boldly. And in the exchange of lance-blows, the lord of Karytaina encountered the Duke of Carinthia, who was one of the most noble and valiant princes of Germany. He dealt him such a blow that he threw both him and he horse down in a heap. And when he fell, he broke his neck and died. And after that, the lord of Karytaina also vanquished two other German barons who were the Duke's kinsmen. And when his lance broke, he drew his sword and began to inflict such great carnage that everyone who saw it was amazed.	And Sir Geoffroy, upon hearing his lord's command, spurred on his horse, like the fine and courageous knight he was, and went to meet the Duke of Carinthia, and struck him with his lance upon the shield, so that it passed through to the other side, and the Duke was flung lifeless down onto the ground. And then he drew his sword and began to strike doughty blows in the midst of the German battalion and soon broke their ranks.	. . . which lord [of Karytaina], having been given command of the vanguard, was the first to pit his lance against the enemy; meeting the Duke of Carinthia, he struck him in the chest and unhorsed and killed him; likewise he dispatched two others, and then, his lance having broken, drew his sword and performed great acts of prowess . . .

PASSAGE VI

A Parliament of Women

After a lengthy spell of captivity in Constantinople, the Prince of Morea, Guillaume II de Villehardouin, and his knights realize that the the Byzantine Emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus, will never agree to the payment of a monetary ransom, and reluctantly concede that instead they will have to surrender a number of royal fortresses in order to secure their liberty. Back in the Principality of Morea, a parliament is convened in order to debate the proposal made by the prisoners and to determine whether it should be accepted or not. Because practically all the men have either fallen on the battlefield at Pelagonia or are the Emperor's prisoners, the parliament is presided over by the Princess of Morea, while mainly the female relations of the feudatories attend.

H vv.4391–407	B §323	Arag. §299	Ital. p.447
. . . ἦλθαν εἰς τὸ Νίκλι· ἐκεῖ ηὗραν τὴν πριγκίπισσαν μὲ τὲς κυράδες ὅλες· ὅλης τῆς Πελοπόνεσσος, τὸν λέγουσιν Μορέαν, ὅπου εἶχαν ποιήσει σώρεψιν νὰ ἐπάρουν τὴν βουλήν τους διὰ τὰ μαντᾶτα ὅπου ἤκουσαν τῶν τριῶν κάστρων ἐκείνων, ὅπου ἔδιδεν ὁ πρίγκιπας τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτότε διὰ νὰ ἔβγῃ ἀπὸ τὴν φυλακὴν ἐκεῖνος κι ὁ λαός του, οἱ ἅπαντες ὅλοι τοῦ Μορέως, οἱ φλαμουριάροι ὅλοι κ' οἱ καβαλλάροι μετ' αὐτοὺς <ποῦ> ἦσαν ἐκεῖ στὴν Πόλιν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἦσαν οἱ ἀρχόντισσες ἐκείνων οἱ γυναῖκες ἐκεῖ μὲ τὴν πριγκίπισσαν στὸ κάστρο τοῦ Ἀμυκλίου κ' ἐκάμνασιν τὸ παρλαμᾶ κ' ἐπαῖρναν τὴν βουλήν τους· κι οὐκ εἴχασιν ἄλλους τινὲς ἄντρες ἐκεῖ μετ' αὐτες, μόνον καὶ τὸν μισὶρ Λινὰρτ ὅπου ἦτον λογοθέτης καὶ τὸν μισὶρ Πιέρη ντὲ Βὰς τὸν φρόνιμον ἐκεῖνον, ὅπου ἦτο ὁ φρονιμώτατος ὅλου τοῦ Πριγκιπάτου. Αὐτεῖνοι οἱ δύο εὑρέθησαν στὸ παρλαμᾶ ἐκεῖνο.	. . . vindrent tout droit a la cité de Nicles, ou il troverent la princesse ou toutes les dames dou pays qui faisoient .j. parlement, pour veoir se il seroit bon de donner les diz . iij. chastiaux pour la raenchon dou prince Guillerme, car elles avoient sceu comment le prince Guillerme estoit acordés avec l'empereor. Et sachiés que li meillor et li plus sages qui a cellui parlement estoient, si estoient messire Lyenars li chanceliers, messire Pierre de Vaux le veillart; car tout li gentil homme dou pays furent pris avec le prince a la Pellagonie.	. . . fueron en la Morea & fueron dauant de la princessa & del duch de Athenas, qui era bayle & gouernador, & dixieronles aquestas conuinencias qu'el princep auia fecho con el emperador. De que el bayle enuió á todos los prelados, barones & caualleros que tuuiessen consello sobre aquesto.	. . . andorono a Nicli, ove trovorono la Principessa con le Madame, le quali erano andate ivi a far conseglio circa la ricuperazion del Principe, e li Frambulani per esser lor mariti. Si ritrovava anco ivi Miser Lunardo, che fù Logotesta, e Miser Perin Gangheva, ch'era il più savio di tutto il principato.

H vv.4391–407	B §323	Arag. §299	Ital. p.447
. . . they came to Nikli where they found the Princess together with all the gentlewomen of the Pelo-	. . . they came straight to the city of Nikli, where the Princess and all the ladies were to be found hold-	. . . they reached the Morea and came before the Princess and the Duke of Athens, who was *bailli* and	. . . they went to Nikli, where they found the Princess and the ladies, who had gone there to hold a

ponnese—which is otherwise called Morea—who had convened an assembly in order to take counsel regarding the news they had heard about those three castles which the Prince was going to give at that time to the Emperor so that he and his men—all those of the Morea, the bannerets and the knights who were in Constantinople—might be released from prison. For this reason those ladies were assembled there together with the Princess at the castle of Nikli, holding a parliament and receiving counsel, and there were no other men with them, except for Sir Leonardo who was the *Logothete*, and Sir Pierre de Vaux, that wisest of men, whose wisdom was unsurpassed in all the Principality. Only those two men attended the parliament.

ing a parliament in order to decide whether the three aforesaid castles ought to be given as ransom for Prince Guillaume, for the women had learned of the agreement Prince Guillaume had made with the Emperor. And know that the best and the wisest who were present at the parliament were Sir Leonardo the Chancellor and old Sir Pierre de Vaux, for all the noblemen of the land had been taken with the prince at Pelagonia.

governor, and they told them of these agreements which the Prince had made with the Emperor. And, because of this, the *bailli* ordered all the prelates, barons, and knights to assemble so that counsel could be taken on the matter.

council regarding the release of the prince and of the bannerets because these men were their husbands. Also present was Sir Leonardo, the *Logothete*, as was Sir Pierre the Toothless, the wisest man in the entire Principality.

PASSAGE VII

Guillaume II de Villehardouin refuses to surrender the Principality of Morea to Michael VIII Palaeologus after the Battle of Pelagonia

Prince Guillaume II de Villehardouin and his men are defeated in the battle of Pelagonia, and those, including the Prince himself, who are not killed are taken captive and sent to the Byzantine Emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus. Upon receiving them, the Emperor states his rights to southern Greece and demands that the Principality of Morea be surrendered to him and that the Franks themselves return to the homelands from which they came. In return, he proposes to release the prisoners and to grant them some financial recompense in order to enable them to buy new fiefs. He warns the Franks that, if they do not accept his offer, the Principality will never see peace again and will soon be utterly ruined. To this, Guillaume II replies, explaining why he cannot agree to the Emperor's terms and conditions.

Ὁ πρίγκιπας ἀφκράζετον τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ λόγια
κ᾽ ἐσκόπα πῶς ν᾽ ἀποκριθῆ ὅπως νὰ μὴ ἔχη σφάλλει.
Κι ὅσον εἶπεν κ᾽ ἐπλήρωσεν τὰ ἐλάλει ὁ βασιλέας,
ἄρξετον πάλε ὁ πρίγκιπας νὰ λέγη πρὸς ἐκεῖνον·
Ὁ Δέσποτα, ἅγιε βασιλέα, δέομαί σου τὸ κράτος,
ὡς ἄνθρωπος ξενωτικὸς κι ἀπαίδευτος ὅπου εἶμαι,
νὰ ἔχω τὴν συμπάθειον σου ἀπόκρισιν ποιήσω.
Ἀφῶν ὁρίζει, δέσποτα, τῆς βασιλείας τὸ κράτος
τὸν τόπον καὶ τὴν ἀφεντίαν ὅπου ἔχω στὸν Μορέαν
νὰ σὲ τὸν δώσω, ἀφέντη μου, λογάριν νὰ μὲ δώσης
ἐμὲν καὶ τῶν συντρόφων μου ὅπου εἶναι μετ᾽ ἐμέναν,
κ᾽ ὑπᾶμε ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν ὅπου ἔν᾽ τὸ ἰγονικόν
    μας
καὶ τόπους ν᾽ ἀγοράσωμεν νὰ ἠμένωμεν εἰς αὐτούς,
κ᾽ ἐσὲν νὰ μείνη ὁ Μορέας ὅπου ἔνι ἰγονικόν σου·
τὸ δύναμαι ν᾽ ἀποκριθῶ καὶ δύναμαι ποιῆσαι,
σὲ θέλω ποιήσει ἀπόκρισιν καὶ δέξου το εἰς ἀλήθειαν,
ἐπεί, ἂν μ᾽ ἐκράτεις ᾽ς φυλακὴν πενῆντα πέντε χρόνους,
ποτὲ ἀπὸ ἐμὲν οὐκ ἠμπορεῖς νὰ ἔχης ἄλλο πρᾶγμα,
μόνον κ᾽ ἐτοῦτο ὅπου ἠμπορῶ λέγω τὴν βασιλείαν
    <σου>.
Ὁ τόπος γάρ, ἀφέντη μου, ἐκεῖνος τοῦ Μορέως,
οὐδὲν τὸν ἔχω ὡς γονικὸν οὔτε παππούδικόν μου
διὰ νὰ τὸν ἔχω εἰς ἐξουσίαν νὰ δώσω καὶ χαρίσω.
Τὸν τόπον [ποῦ] ἐκερδίσασιν οἱ εὐγενικοὶ ἐκεῖνοι
ὅπου ἦλθαν γὰρ ἐκ τὴν Φραγκίαν ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν
    Ρωμανίαν
ὁμοῦ μὲ τὸν πατέρα μου, ὡς φίλοι καὶ συντρόφοι.

'. . . Et seriés en pais et tranquillitée, sans avoir guerre de nullui, ne vous ne vos hoirs. Mais a la Morée se vous y estiés, la quelle chose ne sera jamais, la guerre et la tribulacion ne vous faudroit a nul temps."
—'Monseignor le saint empereor, et puis que vous me demandés le païs de la Morée en la maniere que vous dites, il est drois que je vous responde tout ce qui est verité, et ce que je porray faire de cy a .c. ans, se je tant demouroye en vostre prison. Le pays de la Morée si est pays de conqueste, lequel fu acquis par force d'armes, que monseigneur mon père et li autre gentil homme de France qui furent en sa compaignie le conquesterent, liquel ordinerent et constituerent entre eaux par loys et coustumes que le pays soit a tous hoirs. De

Et el princep respondió al empereor que éll por superbia non queria tomar el imperio, mas éll lo queria recobrar por el derecho que su senyor el emperador Baldoyn auia en el imperio.
'Et si yo so, dixo el princep, (so) por mis peccados presonero, aquesto sabe Dios; mas á lo que vos dizides que yo vos rienda el principado de Acaya, non lo puedo fer, porque no es en mi poder por las condiciones & conuenciones que yo he con ellos; mas encara que fuesse en mi poder, yo quiero antes morir en presion que render la tierra que yo he conquistado con mucho traballo.'

Rispose il Principe, che li risponderia, e risolutamente, e quello, che non muterà, se ben credesse star 10 anni in prigion: Che'l stato, che lui aveva, era stà aquistado da suo padre e dalli suoi antiqui in compagnia con molti altri, e però che non potea, nè dovea cederlo, e che l'usanza de nobili e gentiluomini era liberar li prigioni per le taglie condecenti, che se li danno, e che non volendo far questo, che lui era in suo potere, e staria in prigion quanto li piacesse.

Μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ ἐκερδίσασιν τὸν τόπον τοῦ Μορέως,
ἀλλήλως τὸν ἐμοίρασαν μὲ ψήφους εἰς τὸ ζύγι·
τοῦ καθενὸς ἐδώκασιν πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν ὅπου εἶχεν,
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκλέξασιν ἀμφότεροί τους ὅλοι,
ὡς ἄνθρωπον τιμιώτερον καὶ φρονιμώτερόν τους,
κ’ ἐποῖκαν τὸν πατέρα μου ὡς ἀρχηγὸν εἰς ὅλους.
Μὲ συμφωνίες, στοιχήματα τὰ ἐβάλασιν ἐγγράφως
νὰ μὴ ἔχῃ δύναμιν καμμίαν νὰ κρένῃ μοναχός του,
οὔτε νὰ ποιήσῃ τίποτε πρᾶγμα γὰρ εἰς τὸν κόσμον
ἄνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα ὁλῶν του τῶν συντρόφων.
Λοιπόν, ἀφέντη βασιλέα, ἐγὼ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχω
νὰ δώσω πρᾶγμα τίποτε ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον ποῦ ἔχω
διατὶ τὸν ἐκερδίσασιν μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ οἱ γονεῖς μας
πρὸς τὰ συνήθεια ποῦ ἔχομεν, τὰ ἐποίησαν
   ἀμφοτέρως.
Ἀλλά, ὡς ἔνι τὸ σύνηθες ὅπου ἔχουν οἱ στρατιῶτες,
τὸν πιάσουσιν εἰς πόλεμον καὶ φυλακέψουνέ τον,
μὲ ὑπέρπυρα καὶ χρήματα ἐξαγοράζουνέ τον.
Ἂς τὸ διακρίνῃ, ἀφέντη μου, τῆς βασιλείας τὸ κράτος,
πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ καθενὸς ὅπου εἴμεθεν ἐνταῦτα
νὰ δώσῃ <νὰ> ἐξαγοραστῇ, νὰ ἔβγῃ ἐκ τὴν φυλακήν
   σου.
Κι ἂν θέλῃ ἐτοῦτο, δέσποτα, τῆς βασιλείας τὸ κράτος,
νὰ βιαστοῦμε ὁ κατὰ εἷς τὸ δύνεται καὶ σώνει,
νὰ δώσῃ κ’ ἐξαγοραστῇ, νὰ ἔβγῃ ἐκ τὴν φυλακήν σου·
εἴτε σὲ φαίνῃ, ἀφέντη μου, νὰ μὴ [μᾶς] τὸ ποιήσῃς
   οὕτως,
ἐδῶ μᾶς ἔχεις ’ς φυλακὴν καὶ ποίησον ὡς κελεύεις.’

quoy je feroie grant mauvestié se je, pour la delivrance de mon corps, qui sui .j. seul homme, vosisse desheriter tous ceaux qui sont a venir de si au jour dou jugement. Et, d’autre part, sire, se je le voloie faire pour ma part, laquelle chose je ne feroie pour morir, li autre gentil home qui sont my compaignon et per de moy, en cest cas ne le feroient, ne faire ne le porroient en nulle maniere dou monde. De quoy prie et requier vostre saincte coronne, que de ceste chose ne me parlés plus, pour ce que c’est une chose qui faire ne se porroit a nul fuer. Mais, se il vous plaist, selonc que il se fait par tout le monde la ou les guerres sont, de moy et de ma compaignie delivrer pour renchon de monnoye, et nous nous enforcerons le plus que nous porrons et donrons cescun selon son pooir. Ou se non, nous sommes en vostre prison, si faictes de nous tout vostre plaisir, car de nous n’aurés vous jamais autre chose.”

The Prince listened to the Emperor's words and considered how to reply without occasioning blame. And when the Emperor had finished saying what he had to say, the Prince, in turn, began to address him: 'Holy Emperor, Sire, I bow before your might, and ask, seeing as how I am an untutored foreigner, that you grant me leave to reply and look kindly upon me. Since your imperial might commands, Sire, that I should bestow upon you, my lord, the land and the sovereignty I have in the Morea, in exchange for money that you will give me and my companions, for us to go to France which is our ancestral land and there buy estates where we can live, while you will stay in the Morea which is, you claim, your ancestral inheritance, I wish to tell you whatever is within my power for me to reply and whatever is within my power to carry out, and you should receive this my answer as being the truth of it, for,

'. . . and you will enjoy peace and tranquillity, without either you or your heirs having to fight anyone. But if you were to stay in the Morea (not that you will be allowed to do so), then there would never be a time when you would not face wars and tribulations.'

—'Holy Emperor, Sire, since you demand the land of the Morea from me, offering the terms you have outlined, it is right and proper that I should tell you the truth of how things stand, and my reply would be the same a hundred years hence, even were I to remain in your prison that long. The land of the Morea is a land of conquest, acquired by force of arms, for my lord father and the other noblemen of France who were in his company conquered it, and together they ordained and decreed by laws and customs that the land should belong to all their heirs. Given this, it would be very wrong of me if, in order to save my own carcass, I, who am

And the Prince replied to the Emperor that he did not seek to take the Empire out of arrogance, but, rather, wanted to recover it because of the right his lord the Emperor Baudouin had to it. 'God only knows whether it is because of my sins that I am a prisoner here; but regarding what you say, namely that I should surrender the Principality of Achaia to you, this I cannot do, for, due to certain terms and conditions that bind me to the others, such a thing is not in my power; and even had it been, I would sooner die in prison than surrender the land that I have conquered with so much toil.'

The Prince replied that he would give his answer to the Emperor, and do so resolutely, and that this answer would not change if he believed he would have to remain in prison for ten whole years: that the state over which he ruled had been won by his father and his ancestors, with the help of many other companions, and because of this he could not and ought not to surrender it; moreover, as it was the custom among nobles and gentlemen for prisoners to be freed upon payment of appropriate ransoms, they would give such ransoms to the Emperor, and if the Emperor did not wish to agree to this then he, the Prince, was in his power, and would remain in prison at the Emperor's pleasure.

even were you to keep me in prison for fifty-five years, you could never have anything further from me other than this which I freely tell Your Majesty. The land of the Morea, my lord, was not inherited by me from my father or grandfather, that I might have the sovereign right to give it away and bestow it. The land was won by those noblemen who, together with my father, came from France here to Romania, and were his friends and companions. They won the land of the Morea by the sword, and shared it out among themselves impartially. They gave to each in accordance with his rank, and then they all chose my father as the most honourable and wisest man among them, to be their leader. According to terms and agreements set down on paper, he was to have no power of unilateral decision, nor could he do anything without the counsel and will of all his companions. So, my lord Emperor, I do not have the authority to give you any part of the land which I hold, because our fathers won it by the sword, and arranged matters but one man, set out to disinherit all those who were to be born from now to Judgement Day. And, moreover, even should I wish to do this on my own behalf, although in truth I would sooner die, the other noblemen who are my companions and peers would not follow suit, nor could they under any circumstances. For this reason, I beg and implore your holy Majesty that you should not speak of this anymore, for it is a thing that cannot be done. But if it please you to release me and my companions for a ransom paid in coin, as is done throughout the world wherever wars are fought, then each of us will make every sacrifice and pay whatever he is able. Or, if not, you hold us here as your prisoners, and you may do with us whatsoever you will, for you shall not have anything further from us.'

among themselves according to the laws which we have. It is customary among soldiers that those whom they capture in battle and imprison should then be ransomed for *hyperpyra* and other monies. My lord, let it be judged by your imperial might how much should be paid by each of us who is here, depending upon each person's wealth, and then let each man ransom himself and leave your prison; or, if this is not considered appropriate by you, well, you have us here in your prison, and so do with us what you will!'

PASSAGE VIII

Refugees settle in the Principality of Morea after Constantinople is reconquered by the Byzantines

When Michael VIII Palaeologus retakes Constantinople, the incumbent Latin Emperor, Baudouin II, is forced into exile together with large numbers of Franks and Greeks. They put into port in the Peloponnese, and, while the dispossessed Emperor sets out for the West in order to drum up support for a military campaign to recover his throne, many of his supporters remain behind in the Principality of Morea to await his return. In the end, however, Baudouin having failed in his attempts, the refugees settle permanently in the Principality, and are granted fiefs by Guillaume II de Villehardouin. It should be noted that no equivalent to this passage can be found in Arag., a fact which allows that version to present many of the same families, such as the Aunoy, as participants in the initial conquest of the Peloponnese, rather than as later arrivals and refugees.

Ἐν τούτῳ ἐνεμείνασιν πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τὸν λαόν του ἐκεῖ γὰρ μὲ τὸν πρίγκιπα ἐκεῖνον τὸν Γυλιάμον, εἰς λογισμὸν νὰ τοὺς εὑρῇ ἐκεῖσε ὁ βασιλέας στὸ στρέμμα ὅπου ἤλπιζεν τοῦ νὰ στραφῇ ἀπ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν. Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἐνέμειναν ὅπου τοὺς ὀνομάζω. Ὁ πρῶτος ὁ μισὶρ Ἀσελής, ντὲ Ντουθ εἶχεν τὸ ἐπίκλην, αὐτάδελφος ἦτον τοῦ Καίσσαρη ἐτότε τῆς Πολέου, τὴν μήτηρ τοῦ μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲ ἐκείνου ντὲ Ντουρνάη ἐπῆρεν εἰς γυναῖκαν του κ᾽ ἐνέμεινε εἰς τὸν τόπον. Ἀπαύτου ἦτο ὁ μισὶρ Βηλές, ντὲ Ἀνόε εἶχεν τὸ ἐπίκλην, ὅπου ἦτον πρωτοστράτορας τῆς Ρωμανίας ἐτότε· ὁ πρίγκιπας εὐεργεσίαν τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τοῦ ἐδῶκεν. Ἐνέμειναν οἱ ντὲ Μπλαθοὶ κ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ντὲ Βερήθοι. Ντὲ Ἀμπὴ ἦσαν τέσσαροι ἀδελφοί, ντὲ Ἀνὴ ἦσαν ἄλλοι δύο. Ἄλλος ἦτον ντὲ Λεσπηγγὰς καὶ πλεῖστοι ἄλλοι σιργέντες· ὁμοίως καὶ ἄρχοντες Ρωμαῖοι· ἐνέμειναν κ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι, τοὺς ὁποίους οὐκ ὀνομάζω σε διὰ τὴν πολυγραφίαν.	. . . si demorerent au pays de la Mourée pluseurs gentilz hommes avec leurs femmes, lesquelz retint li bons princes Guillermes, et les fieva et assena cescun selonc qu'il pot. Ce est assavoir messir de Toucy, frere de monseignor Philippe le baill de Costantinoble, liquelx prist a femme la mere de messire Goffroy de Tornay le seignor de la Grite, ceaux d'Alni, ceaux de Brice, ceaux de Planchy, ceaux d'Espinas, ceaux d'Agni, ceaux de Nivele, et pluseurs autres gentilz hommes, chevaliers et escuiers et arcondes grex, qui moult vous seroit grant anui, se nous les vous nommions cescun par nom.	—	. . . rimasero molti con il Principe in la Morea, aspettando il ritorno dell'Imperator, tra quali fu Miser Asselli che era fratello dell'Imperator di Costantinopoli, il qual tolse per moglie la madre di Miser Zuffrè.

Meanwhile, many of his men stayed behind with Prince Guillaume, expecting that the Emperor, who hoped to come back that	. . . there stayed in the land of Morea many noblemen together with their wives, whom good Prince Guillaume retained, and to	—	. . . many stayed with the Prince in the Morea, awaiting the return of the Emperor, among whom was Sir Ancelin, who was

way, would find them there upon his return. The ones who stayed are those whom I name. The first was Sir Ancelin, whose patronymic was de Toucy, and who was the brother of the Caesar of Constantinople; he took as his wife the mother of Geoffroy de Tournay and settled in the Morea. Next was also Sir Vilain, whose patronymic was d'Aunoy, and who was *protostrator* of Romania at that time; to him, the Prince bestowed Arcadia as a gift. Among those who stayed behind were also the Plancy and the de Brice. There were four d'Aby brothers and two more d'Agny, as well as one d'Espinas. There were also many others who were sergeants and Greek *archondes*. They too stayed, but I do not name them as it would take too long to write them.

whom he gave as many grants and fiefs as he could. Namely, Sir de Toucy, who was the brother of lord Philippe, the *bailli* of Constantinople, and who took to wife the mother of Sir Geoffroy de Tournay, the lord of Kalavryta; those of d'Aunoy, those of de Brice, those of Plancy, those of d'Espinas, those d'Agni, those de Nivelet, and many other noblemen, knights, squires, and Greek *archondes*, so many it would bore you greatly if we named each and every one.

brother to the Emperor of Constantinople and who took the mother of Sir Geoffroy to be his wife.

An Alliance between Guillaume II de Villehardouin and Venice

Although Geoffroy I de Villehardouin, the third ruler of the Principality of Morea, began preparations to complete the conquest of the Peloponnese, he was prevented by his untimely death from seeing his plans reach fruition. His brother and successor, Guillaume II de Villehardouin, who shares in his ambitions, seeks to implement their plans, which aimed to besiege and take the few fortresses—Corinth, Nauplion, Monemvasia, and possibly Argos — that still persisted in resisting the Franks. He achieves this goal by arranging an alliance with Venice that provides him with the necessary naval support.

H vv.2752–90	B §§188–90	Arag. §§209–11	Ital. p.435

Ἀφότου γὰρ ἐδιόρθωσεν ὁ πρίγκιπας Ντζεφρόης
τὰ πάντα ὅλα ὅπου ἔπρεπεν ὡς φρόνιμος διορθώσει,
τὸ πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκεν, κι ἀπῆραν το οἱ ἀγγέλοι·
κι ὅσοι τὸ ἀκούετε, λέγετε· ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ συμπαθήσῃ.

Ἐνταῦτα γὰρ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς κ' οἱ φλαμουριάροι ὅλοι
ἐστέψασιν διὰ πρίγκιπα ἐκεῖνον τὸν Γυλιάμο,
τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἐκείνου τοῦ Ντζεφρόη.
ὅστις καὶ γὰρ ἐξέβηκεν ἄνθρωπος ἐπιδέξιος,
φρόνιμος καὶ κοπιαστὴς εἰς ὅλους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
ὅπου νὰ ἐγεννήθησαν εἰς μέρη Ρωμανίας·
καὶ ἦτον <καὶ> φιλάνθρωπος, οἱ πάντες τὸν
ἀγαποῦσαν.
Κι ἀφότου ἐπαράλαβε τὴν ἀφεντίαν τοῦ τόπου,
ηὗρεν ὅτι ἐκρατούσασιν ἀκόμη οἱ Ρωμαῖοι
τὸ κάστρον τῆς Μονοβασίας κ' ἐκεῖνο τῆς Κορίνθου,
ὡσαύτως γὰρ τοῦ Ἀναπλίου ποῦ ἔνι πλησίον τοῦ
Ἄργου,
τὰ ὁποῖα κάστρα εἴχασιν τοὺς πρώτους γὰρ λιμῶνες,
ὅπου ἔρχονται τὰ πλευτικὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ρωμαίων,
κ' ἠφέρνασιν σωτάρχισιν κι ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἀρμάτων.
Ἰδὼν ἐτοῦτο ὁ πρίγκιπας μεγάλως τὸ ἐβαρύνθη,
λέγας γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν οὐδὲν ἔχῃ τὰ κάστρα ἐκεῖνα,
οὐδὲν πρέπει νὰ τὸν λαλοῦν πρίγκιπα τοῦ Μορέως.
Ἐν τούτῳ ἀτός του ἐσκόπησεν ὡς φρόνιμος ὅπου ἦτον,
κ' ἐζήτησεν κι ἀλλῶν βουλὴν κ' ἰσιάστησαν μετ' αὐτόν·
ὅτι ἂν οὐκ ἔχῃ πλευτικὰ τὴν θάλασσαν κρατήσει,
νὰ μὴ ἔρχεται σωτάρχισις εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα κάστρη,
ποτὲ οὐ κυριεύει τα οὐδὲ κερδέσει τὰ ἔχει.

...Et quant il ne porrent plus vivre, si les convint morir.

Et quant Dieu ot fait sa voulenté dou bon prince Goffroy, messire Guillerme, ses freres, reçut la seignorie de la Morée. Si trova que li Grec tenoient ancores le real chastel de Corinte, cellui de Naples et cellui de Malvesie, liquel estoient li plus loyal et li plus fort de tout le pays. Et Malvesie et Naples si estoient le maistre port devers Constantinople, qui abrevoient et donoient secors a la gent de l'empereour grec.

Et quant li bons princes, qui fut entreprenans plus que ne fu messire G[offroys] ses freres, vit et sot que ces .iij. fortresses empeschoient la seignorie de son pays, si se pourpensa comment et en quel manière il les poroit prendre. Si coignut que, se il n'avoit vassiaux par mer, que

Et apres de pocos anyos el dicho princep murió sin fillos, & los prelados, barones & caualleros se apleguaron & fizieron senyor & princep de micer Guillem de Villardoyn, hermano del dicho princep micer Jufre ; el qual micer Guillem fue mucho buen cauallero & valient.

El qual, recebida la senyoria, non quiso reposar, mas quiso recobrar toda la tierra de la Morea & ferla una senyoria, porque el castiello de Napol & la ciudat de Maluasia & toda la montanya de la Laconia & toda la montanya de los Esclauones se tenian por los Grieguos, & algunas vegadas fazian grant danyo á los Francos.

Et por aquesto el princep Guillem se acordó con los Venecianos que le armassen quatro galeas á lures espensas por recobrar Napol & Maluasia que era cerqua la

Doppo la morte de Zuffrè successe Guglielmo, e fù ben visto e tenuto come principe, il qual chiamò conseglio e consultò circa l'impresa delli 4 castelli, e trovò, che li detti castelli aveano porti, per li quali li venia vittuaria e munizion. Per il che deliberororono dimandar ajuti marittimi a Veneziani, per tenir, che non andassero ajuti alli detti castelli, si che si potesse prender, e così mandò ambasciatori a Venezia a dimandar 4 gallere a questo effetto, offrendo a Veneziani in premio le terre di Coron e di Modon, e aquistati li castelli volea poi due gallere solamente per conservar detti lochi aquistati, alle quali gallee si offeriva dar la panatica...

Μαντατοφόρους ἔστειλεν στὸν δοῦκαν Βενετίας
κ' ἰσιάστησαν μὲ τὸ Κουμοῦ εἰς τέτοιες συμφωνίες·
τοῦ νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὸ Κουμοῦ ἕως ὅτου νὰ κερδίσῃ
τὸ κάστρον τῆς Μονοβασίας κ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ Ἀνάπλι,
τέσσαρα κάτεργα καλὰ μὲ τὴν ἀρμάτωσίν τους·
κ' ἐκεῖνος νὰ δώσῃ τοῦ Κουμοῦ τὸ κάστρον τῆς
    Κορώνης
μὲ τὰ χωρία, περιοχὴν ὁμοῦ μὲ τὴν Μεθώνην,
νὰ τὰ ἔχῃ εἰς κληρονομίαν τὸ Κουμοῦ τῆς Βενετίας·
κι ἀπαύτου γὰρ καὶ ἔμπροστεν κερδίζοντα τὰ κάστρη,
νὰ δίδῃ πάντα ἡ Βενετία διὰ φύλαξιν τοῦ τόπου
κάτεργα δύο καὶ μοναχά, νὰ ἔχουσι τὸν λαόν τους·
κι ὁ πρίγκιπας νὰ ἐκπληρῇ τὴν ἔξοδόν τους ὅλην,
τὸ λέγουσιν πανάτικα, ἄνευ τῆς ῥόγας μόνης.

aultrement ne porroit venir a son entendement. Lors envoia messages au duc de Venise par le conseil de sa gent; et se acorderent en tel maniere que, se le commun donoit .iiij. gallies armées tant que il eust pris et conquesté le chastel de Malvesie et cellui de Naples, et il leur donneroit et acquiteroit perpetuelement le chastel de Coron par ytel covenant que dez ci en avant il fussent tenus de donner et tenir au servise dou pays deux galies, payant li princes la panatique tant seulement de la gent.

marina, & éll les daua á ellos Modon & Coron . . .

H vv.2752–90	B §§188–90	Arag. §§209–11	Ital. p.435
After Prince Geoffroy had set in order all the affairs which, as a prudent man, it was appropriate for him to take care of, he surrendered up his spirit, and the angels bore it aloft. All you who hear this, say now: May God rest his soul! Thereupon, the prelates and all	. . . And, once their allotted span had run out, it was meet that they should die. And when God's will had been done with regard to good Prince Geoffroy, his brother, Sir Guillaume, received the lordship of the Morea. And he saw that the	And a few years later the aforesaid Prince died without leaving any sons, and the prelates, barons, and knights assembled together and made Sir Guillaume de Villehardouin prince and lord, who was the brother of the aforesaid Prince Geoffroy; which Sir Guil-	After the death of Geoffroy, Guillaume succeeded to the throne, and he was well-regarded and well-respected as Prince. Guillaume summoned a council, and took advice regarding the matter of the four castles, and he found that these castles had ports, by

the bannerets crowned as prince the brother of Prince Geoffroy, Guillaume, who proved to be a capable man, prudent and diligent in his conduct toward all men born within the regions of Romania, as well as generous, and for this reason he was greatly loved by all his subjects. And when he received the lordship of the land, he found that the Romans [Greeks] still held the castle of Monemvasia, and that of Corinth, as well as that of Nauplion which is near Argos, castles to which the major ports belonged, where the vessels of the Emperor of the Romans would dock and bring provisions and men-at-arms. When the Prince saw how things stood, he was greatly displeased, saying that unless he possessed those castles, he ought not to be called Prince of Morea. Meanwhile, being a prudent man, he thought upon the matter himself, and asked for the counsel of others and they agreed with him that if he did not have ships to control the sea and prevent victuals from getting to the aforesaid castles, he would never take or win them. He sent messengers to the

Greeks still held the royal castle of Corinth, together with that of Nauplion and that of Monemvasia, which were the strongest and most obdurate castles in the land. And Monemvasia and Naples were the major ports for Constantinople, which provided supplies and aid for the Greek Emperor's men.

And when the good Prince, who was more enterprising than Sir Geoffroy his brother had been, saw that these three fortresses prevented him from being the sovereign master of his country, he reflected as to how and by what means he might take them. And he recognized that, without seagoing vessels, he could not fulfil his intentions.

Then he sent messengers to the Duke of Venice in accordance with his people's counsel; and they made the following agreement: that, if the Commune supplied four armed galleys until he had taken and conquered the castles of Monemvasia and of Nauplion, he would give and grant them in perpetuity the castle of Coron with the covenant that henceforth they would be obliged to supply and to

laume was a very good and brave knight.

And once he had received the lordship, he did not wish to take his ease, but desired to recover all the land of the Morea and make of it a single seignory, because the castle of Nauplion, and the city of Monemvasia, and the Lacedaemonians and the Slavs of the highlands persisted in declaring themselves for the Greeks, and therefore sometimes caused considerable harm to the Franks.

And, because of this, Prince Guillaume agreed with the Venetians that they would supply four armed galleys at their own expense in order to recover Nauplion, and also Monemvasia, which was off the coast, and he would give them Modon and Coron . . .

means of which they were able to receive victuals and munitions. Because of this, the council determined to send to the Venetians for naval support, in order to ensure that the aforesaid castles were prevented from receiving aid and could be taken; and so Guillaume sent ambassadors to Venice to request four galleys for this purpose, offering the Venetians as an inducement the lands of Coron and Modon, and, once the castles had been taken, he desired then to have only two galleys in order to conserve the captured places, to which galleys he offered to give the *panatica* . . .

Duke of Venice, and came to the following agreements with the Commune: that, until he had won the castle of Monemvasia and that of Nauplion, the Commune was to supply him with four good galleys together with their equipment, for which he would give the Commune the castle of Coron with its villages and domain, together with Modon, for the Commune to hold by hereditary right; and also that, once the castles had been won, Venice was from then on and in perpetuity to supply, for the protection of the land, two galleys, and two only, with their crews, and the Prince would pay all their expenses, called *panatica*, with the sole exception of the *roga*.

put in the service of the land two galleys, the Prince paying only the crews' *panatica*.

PASSAGE X

Outlying Siege Castles are built by the Besiegers of Acrocorinth

The Frankish siege of Acrocorinth, which is the major stronghold guarding the Isthmus of Corinth and therefore considered to be 'key to the Peloponnese', is dragging on, because the besiegers are unable to prevent the besieged from receiving supplies and reinforcements. In addition, the Franks, who have been camping in the unfortified town of Corinth in the plain below Acrocorinth, are vulnerable and have already fallen victim to raids organized at night by the besieged, resulting in the loss of a number of good knights. As a result, the besiegers determine to build themselves a castle or castles, which they garrison in a suitable manner, and use to blockade the enemy effectively and prevent the receipt of supplies.

H vv.2801–15	B §§192–3	Arag. §§101–6	Ital. p.436

Λοιπόν, διατὶ ἔνι τὸ βουνὶ τοῦ κάστρου τῆς
    Κορίνθου
πλατὺ καὶ μέγα, φοβερόν, κι ἀπάνω ἔνι τὸ κάστρον,
εὑρίσκεται πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ ἐκεινοῦ τοῦ κάστρου
ὁκάτι ἕνα βουνόπουλον, τραχῶνι γὰρ μὲ σπήλαιον.
Κι ὁρίζει ἐνταῦτα ὁ πρίγκιπας κι ἀπάνω ἔχτισε
    κάστρον,
Μοῦντ᾿ Ἐσκουβὲ τὸ ὠνόμασαν, οὕτως τὸ κράζουν
    πάλε·
κι ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλην γὰρ μερέαν, τὸ λέγουσιν πρὸς
    ἄρκτον,
ὁ Μέγας Κύρης ἔποικεν κάστρο ἐδικό του ἐκεῖσε.
Ἐβάλασιν σωτάρχισιν, σκουταροτζαγρατόρους.
Καὶ τόσα τοὺς ἐστένεψαν τοὺς Κορινθαίους
    ἐνταῦτα,
ὅτι ποσῶς οὐκ εἶχαν ἀπάδειαν ξύλο κανὲν νὰ
    ἐμπάσουν,
οὐδὲ σωτάρχιση καμμία νὰ τοὺς ἐμπῇ ποθόθεν·
μόνι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ πολὺ τῶν βρύσων καὶ πηγάδων,
ὅπου εἶναι ἀπάνω στὸ βουνὶ ἀπέσω εἰς τὸ κάστρο,
αὐτόνο εἴχασι πολύ, καὶ ποῖος νὰ τοὺς τὸ ἐπάρῃ.

Donc, pour ce que li chastiaux est de grant purprys, et la gent qui estoit dedens avoient assez de leurs voulentés de pranre buche et autre chose pour leur vivre, si ordina le prince que une fortresse se feist en une montaigne agüe qui est encoste le chastel devers miedi; et fu nommée le Mont Escovée. Et m[essire] Guillerme de la Roche, le noble seignor d'Atthenes, si fist une autre fortresse de l'autre part dou chastel vers le boire; lesquelles fortresses gardoient de bons arbalestiers.

    Et puis tindrent le siege a ceaux [de] dedens en tel manière que depuis ils ne porrent yssir hors des murs dou chastel pour prendre l'aigue ne nulle autre vitaille pour leur vivre ...

Et que le parescia mellor que fornisen la ciudat de gentes d'armas, aquellas que fuesen bastantes pora la guardia de la ciudat, & fiziesen un castiello de la otra part de la ciudat en un cabeço que está dauant del castiello de Corento, & qu'el duch d'Atenas romaniese alli entro que fuese fecho el castiello, & que, complido el castiello, lo deuiesse fornir de gentes & tuuiese el castiello de Corento asitiado. Et assi como micer Jufre consselló, asi fue fecho & ordenado.

    [...]

    De que micer Gui de la Rocia, complido el castiello, al qual puso nombre Maluezmo, ordenó la gent que bastaua pora guardar la ciudat & el dicho castiello, por tal que ninguno non pudiesse sallir del castiello de Corento.

Perchè Coranto è sopra un monte, diruppò un altro monte opposito a Coranto dalla parte d'ostro detto Monte Stuffè (ora detto S. Baseggio), e sopra quello edificò un castello, e dall'altra parte verso tramontana Megachin ne fabricò un'altra sopra un altro monte detto ora Ainori; e ambidue li munirono di munizion e saettadori, si che non potea entrar nè vittuaria, nè ajuti in la rocca di Coranto, e avean solamente una fontana in la rocca, ma di aqua grossa ...

H vv.2801–15	B §§192–3	Arag. §§101–6	Ital. p.436
So, because the hill upon which the castle of Acrocorinth is built is broad and large and mighty, and the castle is at its summit, there is to be found to the south of that castle a hillock of sorts, a rocky outcrop with a cave. And the Prince [Guillaume II de Villehardouin] orders that a castle be built upon it, and they called it Mont Escovée, and that is still its name. And, on the other side, to the north, the Megas Kyr built his own castle there. And they equipped these with victuals and also garrisoned them with men bearing crossbows and shields, and in this manner tightened the blockade against the Corinthians to such an extent that the besieged could bring in no wood at all, nor indeed any victuals; all they had was a great quantity of water from the springs and wells that are up there on the hill inside the castle—this they had in abundance, for who could take it away from them?	So, because the castle had a large *enceinte* and the men who were within could come and go as they pleased in order to get wood or other things necessary to their survival, the Prince [Guillaume II de Villehardouin] ordered that another fortress be built on a steep mountain which is next to the castle towards the south; and it was named Mont Escovée. And Sir Guillaume de la Roche, the noble lord of Athens, built another fortress on the other side of the castle towards the north; these fortresses were guarded by good crossbowmen. And then they laid siege to those who were within so successfully that from that point on the besieged could not sally forth to get water or any other victuals necessary to their survival . . .	. . . And [Geoffroy de Villehardouin said to Guillaume I de Champlitte] that it seemed better to him that they should, first, supply the city with men-at-arms sufficient in number to guard the city and, second, build a castle on a hillock which was in front of the castle of Acrocorinth, and that the Duke of Athens should remain there until the castle had been built, and, once it had been built, provide it with a garrison and keep the castle of Acrocorinth besieged. And the affair was arranged and carried out as Sir Geoffroy had advised. [. . .] And Sir Guy de la Roche, having completed the castle, to which he gave the name Mont Escovée, organized sufficient men to guard the city and the aforesaid castle, so that no one could sally forth from the castle of Acrocorinth.	. . . Because Acrocorinth is on a mountain, he [Prince Guillaume II de Villehardouin] made haste to another mountain opposite Acrocorinth, to the south, then called Mont Escovée and today called San Baseggio, and there he built a castle; and on the other side, towards the north, the Megas Kyr built another castle on another mountain that is today called Ainori; both equipped these with munitions and archers, so that neither provisions nor aid could reach the rock of Acrocorinth, and the besieged were left access only to a spring on the rock, which did however provide an abundance of water . . .

PASSAGE XI

A Miracle involving Spaniards killed in a Battle against the Sultan of Persia

After the loss of Constantinople to the forces of the Fourth Crusade, the Byzantines who go into exile organize resistance to the invaders. The Byzantine Empire of Nicaea, however, which is established in coastal Asia Minor, has not only to fight the Franks, but also the Seljuk Turks. In this struggle, one Nicene emperor, Theodore Laskaris, is assisted by mercenaries or pilgrims who prove themselves willing to sacrifice their lives fighting those whom they consider to be the infidel. Only the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea* contains this narrative sequence.

Et seyendo fecha esta conquista, Alexi emperador qui era antes foydo en las partidas de Salonich, vidiendo que era perdido el imperio & el realme de Ssalonich, éll se partió & passó en las partidas de Natoliu & lexó su lugar tenient de emperador al dispot de la Arta, Quir Miquali, dicho Crutuli & senyor de la Blaquia, & dióle una su fiia por muller; & una otra su fiia de ganancia dyó á Esgurro, el qual tenia á Corento & Argos & Napoli de la Morea.

Et andado en las partidas de Natoliu, trobó un otro su yerno, el qual era fecho emperador por los Griegos en las partidas de Turquia, et qual auia nombre Quir Todoro Lasciri, el qual fue mucho valient & sauio & recobró toda la Turquia que era perdida por los Griegos.

Et senyorió .xxiiij. annyos, & venció .lxxij. batallas, que de Francos que de Turcos, & venció el soldan de Persia, el qual soldan auia en su huest mas de .c. mil hombres á cauallo.

Et en aquella batalla se acertaron mil Espanyoles en ayuda del dicho enperador qui andauan en Ierusalem, los quales por el tiempo eran arribados el Esmirre. Et la persona del emperador con los Espanyoles fue vencedor del soldan & de toda su gente & fue muerto el dicho soldan & la mayor partida de su huest.

Et fueron muertos en aquella batalla de los dichos Spanyoles pres de .vij. [sic]. Et Dios mostró grant miraglo en aquellos Espanyoles muertos, que, en la noche seyendo en el campo muertos, aparescieron muchas lumbres sobre los cuerpos de aquellos toda la noche. La qual cosa sauiendo el emperador & el patriarcha griego qui era con ell, en la manyana fueron & tomaron aquellos cuerpos muertos & los enterraron con grant honor & con mucha clerezia cantando el officio de los muertos & de los martires, diziendo el patriarca que aquellos cuerpos eran santos & Dios auia enuiado grant miraglo en ellos.

Aqui dexaremos de contar aquesta materia, & tornaremos á faular del emperador Baldoyn & del marques rey de Ssalonich.

And when that conquest was complete, the Emperor Alexius III, who had fled earlier to the region of Salonica, saw that both the Empire itself and the Kingdom of Salonica were lost, and so he left that place and crossed to the region of Anatolia, leaving in his stead as regent the Despot of Arta, Kyr Michael, who was called Koutroules and who was lord of Wallachia, bestowing upon him one of his daughters to take to wife. And he gave another daughter, who was illegitimate, to Leo Sgouros, who held Corinth, Argos, and Nauplion in the Morea.

And having gone to the region of Anatolia, he found there another of his sons-in-law who had been made emperor of the Greeks in the region of Turkey, called Theodore Laskaris, who was very valiant and wise and had taken back the entirety of Turkey which had previously been lost for the Greeks.

And that Emperor ruled for twenty-four years and won seventy-two battles, against both the Franks and the Turks, and he was victorious over the Sultan of Persia, which sultan had in his army over one hundred thousand mounted soldiers.

And, in this battle, one thousand Spaniards, who were on their way to Jerusalem and happened to have arrived at that time in Smyrna, came to the aid of the aforesaid Emperor. And the Emperor, in person, aided by the Spaniards, vanquished the Sultan and all his men; and the aforesaid Sultan was killed together with the greater part of his host.

And in this battle about seven of the aforesaid Spaniards were killed. And God performed a great miracle upon these dead Spaniards; for, that night, as they lay on the battlefield, many lights appeared above their corpses the whole night long. When the Emperor and the Greek patriarch who was with him learned this, they went on the morrow and gathered up these bodies of the deceased and buried them with great honour, and many priests sang the offices of the dead and of the martyrs, with the patriarch saying that these corpses were sainted and that God had sent a great miracle through them.

Here we leave off telling of this subject, and return to speak about the Emperor Baudouin and the Marquis, who was King of Salonica.

PASSAGE XII

The Deaths of Baudouin de Flandres and Boniface de Montferrat

After the crusaders conquer the Byzantine capital for themselves, a committee of their representatives elects Baudouin de Flandres as Emperor of Constantinople, and he is duly crowned, while the leader of the Fourth Crusade, Boniface de Montferrat, receives the Kingdom of Salonica. Their reigns, however, prove to be all too brief, as they are both defeated by Kalojan and his army, and die struck down on the field of battle.

H vv.1030–167	B §§69–71	Arag. §§59–63	Ital. pp.420–1

Λοιπὸν ἐτότε ὅπου λαλῶ, εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον
ἦτον ἀφέντης τῆς Βλαχίας καὶ ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
τῆς Ἄρτας καὶ τῶν Γιαννίνων κι ὅλου τοῦ
   Δεσποτάτου,
κὺρ Ἰωάννην τὸν ὠνόμαζαν, Βατάτσης εἶχεν τὸ
   ἐπίκλη.
Κι ὡς ἤκουσεν καὶ ἔμαθεν καὶ ἐπληροφορέθη
τὸ πῶς οἱ Φράγκοι ἀπήρασιν τὴν ἀφεντίαν τῆς Πόλης,
κ' ἐστέψασιν καὶ βασιλέαν, ἀπήρασι τὰ κάστρη,
τὲς χῶρες ἐμερίσασιν ὅλης τῆς Ρωμανίας·
εὐθέως, σπουδαίως ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν
   Κουμανίαν·
δέκα χιλιάδες ἤλθασιν, ὅλοι ἐκλεχτοὶ Κουμᾶνοι
μὲ Τουρκουμάνους ἐκλεχτούς, ὅλοι ἐκαβαλλικεῦαν.
Ἄρματα εἴχασιν καλά, διαρίχια ἐφοροῦσαν·
οἱ μὲν κοντάρια ἐβάσταιναν κ' οἱ ἕτεροι βεργίτες.
Ἐσώρεψεν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὅλης τῆς ἀφεντίας του,
φουσσᾶτα ἐπεριεσώρεψεν μεγάλα κι ἀντρειωμένα
κι ἄρχισε μάχην δυνατὴν νὰ πολεμῇ τοὺς Φράγκους·
οὐχὶ γὰρ εἰς πρόσωπον, νὰ πολεμήσῃ εἰς κάμπον,
ἀλλὰ μὲ τρόπον μηχανίας ὡσὰν τὸ κάμνουν οἱ
   Τοῦρκοι.
Διαβόντα γὰρ ἕνας καιρός, ἐγύρισεν ὁ ἄλλος·
μὲ πονηρίαν ἀπόστειλεν τοὺς καταπατητάδες
τοῦ νὰ μαθαίνῃ ἀδιάλειπτα τὲς τῶν Φραγκῶν γὰρ
   πρᾶξες.
Κι ὡς ἔμαθεν πληροφορίαν τὸ ποῦ ἦτο ὁ
   Μπονοφάτσιος,
	Si avint chose que icellui temps estoit .j. roy a la Blaquie qui on appelloit Jehan Vataqui. Cellui roy Jehan estoit pere de Quir Nicrifore, le despot de l'Art. Et quant il vit e sot que nostre gent avoient ainxi prise la seignorie de l'empire de Costantinople, et que le marquis avoit aussi prise la cité de Salonique, si manda querre .x.ᵐ· Comains, une legiere gent et moult vaillant et commença a guerroyer a nostre gent, e firent moult de dommage aux François. Et tant fist a la fin que, par enging, que par decevement, ala a la cité de Salonique et mist ses agays loin de la cité; et puis mist ses correurs et lez fist courre jusques devant la cité, et prinrent la proie qui estoit devant.
	
	   Et lors yssi li roys Bonifaces moult voulentiers sur sez anemis a tant de gent
		Auiendo el emperador Baldoyn conquistado todo el imperio & el marques conquerido todo el rrealme de Salonich & la mayor parte de la Blaquia, un emperador de Burgaria, el qual auia nombre Caloynni Assan, el qual era mucho rico de trasoro & con grant poder de gentes, dudbando qu'el emperador Baldoyn, qui era en las fronteras de sus terras, non entras por aquellas & conquiries el imperio suyo como auia fecho el de los Griegos, enuió & fizo venir Alanos & tomar bien .xxiiij. mil á su sueldo.
		
		   Et fues ende en las partidas de Andronopoli con grant poder de aquellos soldados & de las gentes de su tierra. Et supido aquesto, el emperador Baldoyn aplegó muchas gentes & fues ende en And[r]onopoli por defender la ciutat & encontrar
			In questo tempo il signor della Valachia Zuan Vatazio e della Grecia e Arta, Giannina e tutto l'Ispodato intese che ebbe verificato, che Franchi si erano insignoriti dell imperio e fatto imperator e coronato, e la division, subito convocò li Cumani i quali vennero .x.ᴹ senza eletta, e li Turcomani in gran numero eletti, armati tutti di buone armi, ben a cavallo, con panziere, e alcuni avevano lanze, alcuni archi e frezze, condotte anco le genti del suo dominio, fece un'esercito molto gagliardo, e venne a combattere con li Franchi, e così da poi mandò suoi spioni ad esplorar li andamenti dei Franchi, e inteso del Rè di Tessaglia se trovava ad un castello detto … caminò con l'esercito di notte fin che si approssimò a nemici e fece le sue imboscate

ὁ ῥῆγας τοῦ Σαλονικίου, οὕτως τὸν ὠνόμαζαν,
τὲς νύχτες ἐπερπάτησεν ἕως οὗ νὰ ἐφτάσῃ ἐκεῖθεν.
Τὰ ἐγκρύμματά του ἔβαλεν εἰς ἐπιδέξιους τόπους·
καὶ ὅσον ἐξημέρωσεν κ᾽ ἐπλάτυνεν ἡ ἡμέρα, διακόσιους
γὰρ ἐδιόρθωσεν ὅπου ἦσαν τὰ λάφρά τους
κ᾽ ἐδράμασιν κ᾽ ἐκούρσευψαν γῦρον τοῦ κάστρου
  ἐκείνου·
τὸ κοῦρσο ἐπεριμάζωξαν, ἀπῆρασι, ὑπαγαίνουν.
Τὸ ἰδεῖ οἱ Λουμπάρδοι ὅπου ἦσασι ἐκεῖσε μὲ τὸν
  ῥῆγαν,
σπουδαίως ἀπῆραν τ᾽ ἄρματα, πηδοῦν, καβαλλικεύουν·
ἀτός του ὁ ῥῆγας μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐξέβηκεν ὁμοίως
ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἀπαίδευτοι τῆς μάχης τῶν Ρωμαίων.
Ὁμπρὸς ὀπίσω ἐξέβαιναν πρὸς εἴκοσι καὶ τριάντα·
κ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου ἐκούρσευψαν κ᾽ ἐφεύγαν μὲ τὸ κοῦρσο
ἕως οὗ νὰ τοὺς προσφέρουσι ἀπέσω εἰς τὰς χωσίας.
Ἐνταῦτα ἀπεχωσιάσασιν γύρωθεν οἱ χωσίες
καὶ τοὺς Λουμπάρδους ἄρχασαν νὰ τοὺς θέλουν
  τοξεύει
ἐδείχναν ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ Κουμάνοι
κ᾽ ἐγύριζαν ὀπίσω τους καὶ τὰ φαρία ἐδοξευαν.
Οἱ δὲ Λουμπάρδοι ὡς εἴδασιν μετὰ τὸν
  Μπονοφάτσιον,
ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀφέντην τους, τοῦ Σαλονικίου τὸν ῥῆγα,
τὸ πῶς τοὺς ἐτριγύρισαν κ᾽ ἐκατεδόξευάν τους,
ὅλοι ἐνομοῦ ἐσωρεύτησαν, νὰ ζήσουν κι ἀποθάνουν.
Τὸ δὲ οἱ Κουμάνοι κ᾽ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι οὐκ ἐζυγώνανέ τους·
μὲ τὰς σαγίττας ἀπὸ μακρὰ τοὺς ἐκατεδόξευαν
κι οὕτως δὲ τοὺς ἀποκτείνασιν κ᾽ ἐθανατώσανέ τους.
Ἀπαύτου δὲ καὶ ἔμπροστεν, καθὼς σε τὸ ἀφηγοῦμαι,
μὲ πονηρίαν καὶ μηχανίαν, ὡς τὸ ἔχουν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι,
τοὺς Φράγκους ἐμαχόντησαν, ἐπαίρναν τους καὶ
  ἐδίδαν,

comme il ot en sa com-
paignie. Et ala ainsi aban-
donnéement, cachant celle
gent, quar il entra entre les
embussemens que li Comain
avoient fait pour lui, et lors
le avironerent de toutes
pars. Et quant li rois Bonifa-
ces vit qu'yl estoit traÿs en
ceste maniere, si ralia sa
gent au mielx qu'il pot et se
mist à deffendre moult vig-
ueureusement. Mais a la fin, li
Comain le desconfirent par
la force de lors ars; car il
ocioient leurs chevaux et
puis faisoient de eaux ce
qu'il vouloient.

Et après, cel roy Jehan
guerroia tant nostre gent
par moult de manieres que,
a chief de .iiij. ans, il ala a la
cité d'Adrinople, la ou l'em-
pereor Bauduin estoit
adonc; et le desconfit tout
en tel maniere comme il
avoit fait le roy Boniface.

al dicho emperador de Bur-
garia.

De que estando el dicho
Baldoyn en Andronopoli
con toda su gent, el dicho
emperador de Burgaria
salió al campo & demandó
batalla al emperador Bal-
doyn. Et el dicho Baldoyn
como aquel qui era mucho
ardido sallió de fuera &
combatióse con el dicho em-
perador de Burgaria. Et fue
exconfito Baldoyn con toda
su huest & fue muerto con
grant partida de sus gentes.

Et muerto el emperador
Baldoyn, el emperador de
Burgaria caualgó por toda
la tierra & gastó muchas
tierras & castiellos, & des-
pues s'en tornó en Salonic.

Et, seyendo á Salonich,
combatióse con el marques,
&, por celadas que le echó,
mató el marques, & con las
gentes ensemble del mar-
ques que fuya á la ciudat,
entró su gent & tomó la ciu-
dat. Et perdido assi Salonich
por los Francos, el dispot de
la Arta recobró la Blaquia
por los Griegos, & el emper-

in luochi convenienti. Ve-
nuto il giorno mandò 200
persone elette, le qual si
messero a scorsizar intorno
a quel castello, e assicurata la
preda si misero a tornar. Li
Lombardi veduti li nemici
colla preda, uscirono fuora
con il Rè in persona e imper-
iti del guerreggiar dei Greci,
a parte a parte, secondo che
uscivano, se mettevano in
squadra, quelli della preda
finsero fuggir tanto, che ri-
dussero li nemici all'imbosca-
ta; allora l'imboscati usciti
vennero di mezzo li Lom-
bardi, che venivano a parte
a parte e non uniti, ferendoli
con le frezze, e li Cumani
fingendo fuggir, trovavano
fuggendo li nemici seguendo-
li. Il Rè Bonifacio ve-
dendo li imboscati matarli
molti, e massime essendo li
suoi sparsi, unì li suoi e de-
liberò di contener il resto ad
uno essendo circondati dalla
moltitudine, e combattendo
virilmente il Rè e tutti li suoi
furono morti, e così da quel
tempo avvanti li Greci con-
tinuarono con astuzie dissi-

κἀθὼς τὸ ἔχουν πανταχοῦ οἱ μάχες καὶ οἱ στρατεῖες,
ἕως ὅτου ἐπεράσασιν τῶν τριῶν χρόνων τὸ τέλος.
Κι ἀφότου ἐπληρώθησαν οἱ τρεῖς χρόνοι κι ἀπάνω,
ὁ Βαλτουβῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὠρέχτηκεν νὰ ἀπέλθη
ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἀνδριανόπολιν, χώρα μεγάλη ὑπάρχει.
Κι ὡσὰν ἐδιέβηκεν ἐκεῖ, καθὼς σὲ τὸ ἀφηγοῦμαι,
ὁκάποιος τοῦ τὸ ἐμηνύτεψεν ἐκεινοῦ τοῦ δεσπότη
τοῦ Καλοϊωάννη, σὲ λαλῶ, τοῦ ἀφέντου τῆς Βλαχίας·
κ' ἐκεῖνος, ὡς τὸ ἤκουσεν κι ὡς τὸ ἐπληροφορέθη,
γοργόν, σπουδαίως, καὶ σύντομα, μὲ προθυμίαν
    μεγάλην,
καταπαντόθε ἐσώρεψεν ὅλα του τὰ φουσσᾶτα·
ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἀνδριανόπολιν σπουδαίως ἐκατεφτάσεν.
Τί νὰ σὲ λέγω τὰ πολλὰ πολλάκις νὰ βαρειέσαι;
ἐπεὶ κ' ἐγὼ ὡσὰν κ' ἐσὲν βαρειῶμαι νὰ τὰ γράφω·
ἀλλὰ διὰ συντομώτερον καὶ διὰ κοντοὺς τοὺς λόγους,
σὲ λέγω καὶ πληροφορῶ, μὲ ἀλήθειαν σὲ τὸ γράφω,
ὅτι, ὡσὰν τὸ ἔποικεν ἐκείνου τοῦ μαρκέσα,
τοῦ ρῆγα τοῦ Σαλονικίου, καθὼς σὲ τὸ ἀφηγήθην,
τὸ ἐποίησαν καὶ Μπαλτουῆ, τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Πόλης·
μετὰ χωσίες καὶ μηχανίες οὕτω τοὺς ἐπλάνεσαν,
ἐξέβησαν εἰς τὴν φωνὴν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐκείνην
ποῦ ἐλάλησαν καὶ εἴπασιν ὅτι ἦλθαν τὰ φουσσᾶτα
τοῦ Καλοϊωάννη, σὲ λαλῶ, ἐκεινοῦ τοῦ δεσπότη.
Πεντακοσίους ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ δεσπότης,
ὅπου ἔδραμαν κ' ἐκούρσεψαν τοὺς κάμπους καὶ τοὺς
    τόπους
ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἀνδριανόπολιν ποῦ ἦτον ὁ βασιλέας.
Ὥρισεν γὰρ ὁ βασιλέας τὸν πρωτοστράτορά του
καὶ τὰ σαλπίγγια ἐλάλησαν, πηδοῦν, καβαλλικεύουν·
Φλαμέγκους εἶχε ἑξακοσίους καὶ τριακοσίους
    Φράγκους
ὅπου ἦσαν ὅλοι ἐκλεχτοί, φαρία ἐκαβαλλικεῦαν,

ador de Burgaria, preso Ssa-
lonich, dexólo á los Griegos
de la terra, & éll tornó s'ende
en sus partidas de Burgaria.

par a parte a parte li Franchi.
De lì a 3 anni Balduino se
dilettò d'andar in Andrino-
poli, e con quella medesima
astuzia, che ruppe e am-
mazzò Bonifacio, ridusse
Balduin di fuori alla batta-
glia, mandati prima ch'ebbe
500 Vallachi, e Balduin
mandò fuori 600 de'suoi li
più eletti, i quali circondati
dalli imboscati, furon morti,
nè volse alli Baroni di Bal-
duin arricordarli, che si
guardasse dall' insidie de
Vallachi, e che per un poco
di preda non volesse metter
in pericolo le cose sue, e Bal-
duino si corruzzò e disse,
che non era cosa onorevole
e di suo par, lasciar depredar
il suo avvanti li suoi occhi,
e che volea ad ogni modo
ricuperar il suo onor e com-
mandar alli suoi uomini, che
uscissero, e fù tirato da ne-
mici fin all'insidie, ove cir-
condato e ferito con tutti li
suoi da frezze, alla fin fù
morto con tutti li suoi.

ἄρματα εἴχασιν λαμπρὰ <ὡς> τὰ ἔχουσιν οἱ Φράγκοι.
Ἀϊλλοὶ ζημία ὅπου ἐγένετον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν
'ς τέτοιους ἀνθρώπους βγενικοὺς ἀπ' τὸ ἄνθος τῆς
    Φραγκίας,
τὸ πῶς ἐκαταλύθησαν κι ἀδίκως ἀποθάναν,
διατὶ οὐκ ἔξευραν κἂμ ποσῶς τὴν μάχην τῶν
    Ρωμαίων.
Ἦλθασιν γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ Ἀνδριανοπολῖτες
καὶ λέγουσιν τοῦ βασιλέως· 'Ἀφέντη μας, δεσπότη,
κράτησον τὰ φουσσᾶτα σου μηδὲν ἔβγουσιν ἔξω·
ἐπεὶ αὐτοί, ὅπου θεωρεῖς, ὅτι ἦλθαν καὶ κουρσεύουν,
ὡς πλάνοι ἦλθασι κλεφτῶς νὰ μᾶς ἐξεμαυλίσουν·
τὰ δὲ φουσσᾶτα ὅπου ἔχουσιν, ὅλοι εἶναι χωσιασμένοι
καὶ ἀναμένουν ὡς διὰ ἐμᾶς νὰ μᾶς ὑπάουσι ἐκεῖσε.
Αὐτοῦνοι γὰρ οὐ πολεμοῦν ὡσὰν ἐσεῖς οἱ Φράγκοι,
εἰς κάμπον ν' ἀναμείνουσιν νὰ δώσουν κονταρέας,
ἀλλὰ μὲ τὰ δοξάρια τους φεύγοντα πολεμοῦσιν.
Καὶ πρόσεχε, ἀφέντη μας καλέ, μηδὲν ἐβγῆς εἰς
    αὔτους·
ἂν μᾶς ἀπῆραν πρόβατα, ἄλογά τε καὶ βοΐδια,
ὡς δανεικὰ ἂς τὰ ἐπάρουσιν, ἂν τύχῃ νὰ τὰ
    στρέψουν'.
Ἀκούσων τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκατηγόρησέ το,
χολιαστικὰ τοὺς ὥρισε πλέον νὰ μὴ τὸ εἰποῦσιν,
διότι πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν, κατηγορίαν μεγάλην.
'Νὰ ἐβλέπω μὲ τὰ ὀμμάτια μου ἐμπρός μου τοὺς
    ἐχτρούς μου
ὅπου ζημιώνουν, καταλοῦν, τοὺς τόπους μου
    κουρσεύουν,
κ' ἐγὼ νὰ στήκω ὡσὰν νεκρὸς καὶ νὰ τοὺς ὑπομένω;
κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω, θάνατον σήμερον ν' ἀποθάνω
περὶ νὰ εἰποῦσιν ἀλλαχοῦ νὰ μὲ κατηγορήσουν'.
Ὥρισεν ἐλαλήσασιν, καὶ εἶπαν τὰ σαλπίγγια·
εἰς τρία ἀλλάγια ἐχώρισε τοὺς Φράγκους ὅπου εἶχεν,
καὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους εἰς ἄλλα τρία κ' ἐξέβησαν στὸν

   κάμπον.

Τὸ ἰδεῖ τους γὰρ οἱ Κούμανοι, ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου
   ἐκουρσεῦαν,
τὸ πῶς ἐξέβησαν 's αὐτοὺς, ἐχάρησαν μεγάλως,
ἔδοξαν ὅτι φεύγουσιν μὲ τὸ κοῦρσο ὅπου εἶχαν·
κ' οἱ Φράγκοι, ὡς ἀπαίδευτοι τῆς μάχης γὰρ ἐκείνης,
ἀρχίσαν νὰ τοὺς διώκουσιν διὰ νὰ τοὺς ἔχουν σώσει·
κ' ἐκεῖνοι πάλε φεύγοντα τοὺς ἐκατεδοξεῦαν
τὰ ἄλογα καὶ τὰ φαρία ὅπου ἐκαβαλλικεῦαν.
Τόσον τοὺς ἐπαράσυραν κ' ἐξεμαυλίσανέ τους,
ὅτι τοὺς ἀπεσώσασιν ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὴν χωσίαν·
εὐθέως ἐξεχωσιάσασιν οἱ Τοῦρκοι κ' οἱ Κουμᾶνοι,
ἄρχισαν νὰ δοξεύουσιν τῶν Φραγκῶν τὰ φαρία.
Οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ ἐλόγιασαν πόλεμον νὰ τοὺς ποιήσουν
μὲ τὰ κοντάρια καὶ σπαθία, ὡς ἦσαν μαθημένοι.
Οἱ δὲ Κουμᾶνοι ἐφεύγασιν κι οὐδὲν τοὺς ἐπλησιάζαν,
μόνι μὲ τὰ δοξάρια τους τοὺς ἐκατεδοξεῦαν
καὶ τόσα ἐκατεδόξευψαν ὅτι ἀπεκτείνανέ τους·
ἐψόφησαν γὰρ τὰ φαρία, οἱ καβαλλάροι ἐπέσαν.
Σαλίβες εἶχαν τούρκικες ὁμοίως καὶ ἀπελατίκια·
μὲ ἐκεῖνα τοὺς ἐσύχνασαν ἀπάνω εἰς τὰ κασσίδια,
κι ἀπέκτειναν τὸν βασιλέαν κι ὅλα του τὰ φουσσᾶτα.
'Εδε ζημία ὅπου ἐγίνετον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν·
πᾶσα στρατιώτης εὐγενὴς πρέπει νὰ τοὺς λυπᾶται
διατὸ ἀπέθαναν ἄδικα δίχως νὰ πολεμήσουν.
Οἱ δὲ Ρωμαῖοι ὅπου ἤσασιν μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα
ἐκεῖ ἐκ τὴν Ἀνδριανόπολιν, ὀλίγους γὰρ ἐλάβαν,
ἐπεὶν τὸ ἰδεῖ τὸν βασιλέα τὸ πῶς τὸν ἀπεκτεῖναν,
ἔφυγαν, ὀπίσω ἐστράφησαν, ἐσέβησαν στὴν χώραν·
μαντᾶτα ἐσυνεβγάλασιν στὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν,
τὸ πῶς ἐκαταλύσασιν τὸν βασιλέαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι.

So, during those years I am telling you about, and at that time, the lord of Wallachia and of the whole of Hellas, of Arta and of Ioannina and of the entirety of the Despotate was called Kyr John and bore the patronymic Vatatzes. And when he heard and learned and was apprised that the Franks had made themselves masters of Constantinople and even crowned an Emperor, and had also taken the castles and divided the lands of all Romania, he immediately made haste to send to Cumania for mercenaries, and ten thousand came, all hand-picked Cumans and hand-picked Turcomans, all of them mounted. They had fine weapons, and wore cuirasses in the eastern style, with some of them carrying lances and others maces. He also mustered all the troops that were available within his realm, so that a great and fearless army was amassed, and he began a fierce war against the Franks, not fighting them face to face, in the

So it happened at that time that there was a king in Wallacia who was called John Vatatzes. This King was the father of Kyr Nicephorus, who was later Despot of Arta. And when he saw and learned that our men had taken the Empire of Constantinople and made themselves its masters, and that the Marquis had also taken the city of Salonica, he sent for ten thousand Cumans, who were lightly armed troops of great bravery, and began to fight our men, and did the French much damage. And he was so successful that, in the end, by means of trickery and deception, he went to the city of Salonica and set his ambush at a distance from the city; and then he sent his raiders and had them raid right up to the city, and they seized the booty they found before its walls.

Then King Boniface went out right willingly to meet his enemies with whatever men he then had in his company. And as they rode for-

The Emperor Baudouin having conquered the entirety of the Empire and the Marquis having conquered the Kingdom of Salonica and the greater part of Wallachia, an Emperor of Bulgaria, called Kalojan Asen, who was very rich in treasure and who commanded a great many men, fearing that the Emperor Baudouin, who was to be found at his borders, would cross over and take his Empire, just as he had taken that of the Greeks, sent for Alans and had a good twenty-three thousand men enlisted as his mercenaries.

And from there he went to the region of Adrianople with a great army made up of these mercenaries and also of his own native troops. And when the Emperor Baudouin learned this, he mustered many men and went to Adrianople to defend the city and oppose the aforesaid Emperor of Bulgaria.

And when the aforesaid Baudouin arrived in Adrianople with

At that time, John Vatatzes, the lord of Wallachia, and of Greece and Arta, Ioannina and the entire Despotate,—having heard and verified that the Franks had become masters of the Empire and appointed and crowned an emperor, and divided the provinces among themselves—immediately sent for the Cumans, of whom ten thousand came, without needing selection, and also for the Turcomans, of whom a goodly number came, all elite fighters; these troops were well armed, well mounted, with cuirasses, and some of them had lances, others bows and arrows.

As well as them, Kalojan also led the men of his own land, so that he had at his disposal a most noble army, with which he went to fight the Franks, and because he promptly sent out his spies to investigate the comings and goings of the Franks, he learned of the King of Salonica that he was at a castle called . . . , and he marched

plain, but using trickery as Turks are wont. When one season had passed and another arrived, he sent spies to learn every last detail of the movements of the Franks. And when he received news of the whereabouts of Boniface, who bore the title of King of Salonica, he marched by night until he had arrived there, whereupon he craftily set ambushes in well-chosen places, and, once day had broken and the sun had risen, drew up two hundred light troops and sent them to go and raid in the neighbourhood of the castle. They collected booty, seized it and then go on their way. When the Lombards who were there with the King saw this, they hastily snatched up their weapons, and they leap into the saddle, the King himself going with them, for they were men who were inexperienced in the Roman [Greek] manner of fighting. They set off in pursuit in groups of twenty and thirty, and those who had raided and were making off with the booty drew them into the ambush. Then the trap was sprung all around them, and the ambushers began to fire

ward heedlessly, chasing the raiders, the King fell into the ambush which the Cumans had set for him, and they surrounded him from all sides. And when King Boniface saw that he had been this wise betrayed, he rallied his men as best he could and vigorously set about defending himself. But, in the end, the Cumans undid him with their bows; for they killed the horses and then did with the men what they willed.

And after this, the same King John warred upon our men for so long and with such varied tactics, that, after three years, he went to Adrianople where the Emperor Baudouin then was, and managed to discomfit him in the same way as he already had King Boniface.

his men, the aforesaid Emperor of Bulgaria sallied forth onto the plain and demanded battle of the Emperor Baudouin. And the aforesaid Baudouin, who was most courageous, came out and fought the aforesaid Emperor of Bulgaria. And Baudouin and his army were defeated, and both he and a large number of his men perished.

And when the Emperor Baudouin had died, the Emperor of Bulgaria rode throughout his land, devastating many places and castles, after which he made for Salonica.

And when he was at Salonica, he fought the Marquis, and by means of an ambush that he set for him, he killed the Marquis, and then his own men, hot on the heels of the Marquis's men who were fleeing into the city, entered there and took it. And once Salonica had been lost to the Franks, the Despot of Arta recovered Wallachia for the Greeks, and the Emperor of Bulgaria, having taken Salonica, handed it over to the Greeks of the land and returned to his own region of Bulgaria.

his army by night until he got near his enemies and was able to set his ambush for them in a suitable place. When day broke, he dispatched two hundred picked men, who pillaged the surroundings of the castle and then, having collected their spoils, started heading back. The Lombards, seeing their enemies with the booty, sallied forth with the King himself among them; and, having little experience in the Greeks' manner of fighting, they came out [of the castle] in small groups and remained in these scattered units when they set off. Those who had the booty pretended to flee until they drew their enemies into the trap; and then those manning the ambush appeared in the midst of the Lombards, who were advancing piecemeal and not as a single body, and they attacked them, firing arrows at them, while the Cumans who were feigning flight, even as they fled turned round to meet the enemies who were following them. Observing that his men were being slaughtered by the ambushers, and, moreover, that they were [still] in utter disarray, King

arrows at the Lombards, while the Cumans who had been feigning flight were now turning back and loosening bolts at their pursuers' horses. When the Lombards and Boniface their lord, the King of Salonica, saw what was happening, how they had been surrounded and how a hail of arrows was falling on them, they closed ranks in order to fight—and either save themselves or die in the attempt. The Cumans and the Romans [Greeks] did not draw near, however, but continued from afar to fire volleys into their opponents, and in this manner brought them to their death and slew them.

From then on, I tell you, with cunning and trickery, as the Romans [Greeks] are wont, they fought the Franks, and gave and took, as happens everywhere in battles and while campaigning— and this for three whole years. And after three years and more had passed, the Emperor Baudouin desired to go to Adrianople, which is a large city, and when he got there, I tell you, someone sent word to the Despot Kalojan, as I say, the lord of Wallachia, and he,

Boniface rallied them, and determined to organize those that remained to him in a single tight formation, since the multitude had completely surrounded them. Fighting bravely, the King and all his men died, and, from that time, the Greeks continued wreak havoc upon the Franks with such tricks as these.

And three years later, it pleased the Emperor Baudouin to go to Adrianople, and there he fell into a trap similar to that which had undone Boniface and brought him to his death, for Kalojan drew Baudouin out to fight, having first sent five hundred Vlachs to provoke him, to which Baudouin responded with six hundred of his finest men. These men, having being surrounded by the ambushers, were then killed.

Moreover, it was for naught that Baldwin's barons warned him against the trickery of the Vlachs, urging him not to risk their all for the sake of a little booty, since Baudouin became angry and said that it would be neither honourable nor proper for him to permit a raid to happen before his very

hearing and being informed of developments, quickly, in haste and without delay, and with a great appetite for war, mustered all his troops and rushed to Adrianople. Why should I give you all the details and bore you to tears with them? I myself do not have the stamina to write it all, but quickly will tell you and in brief apprise you of the truth—that, as it had been done to the Marquis, the King of Salonica, and as I have already narrated, so too was it done to Baudouin, the Emperor of Constantinople. By means of trickery and an ambush he and his men were misled, and, hearing the shouts and the commotion about the arrival of Kalojan, the Despot, they sallied forth to do battle. The Despot had sent five hundred men, who went in search of booty and raided the plains and surroundings of Adrianople, where the Emperor was. And so the Emperor commanded his *protostrator*, and the trumpets were sounded, and they leap into the saddle; he had six hundred Flemings and three hundred Franks, all picked men and mounted upon

eyes, adding that he wished to take every possible step to recover his honour. And so it was that Baudouin gave orders to his men to sally forth, and he fell into the trap, with the result that both he and his men were surrounded and shot at with arrows, and, in the end, both he and all his men perished.

chargers—they had fine armour in the Frankish manner. Alas! These noble men, the flower of France, were undone that day! They were laid low and unjustly lost their lives, because they had no inkling regarding the way in which Romans [Greeks] fight!

The *archondes* of Adrianople went to the King and say to him: 'Our lord and master, hold your army back, do not let them go outside, for those you see, who are come here to raid are but decoys sent here slyly to trick us; the armies which they have are all ready to ambush us and are lying in wait for us until we are brought to them. These people do not fight like you Franks, facing each other in the plain and waiting to exchange blows with their lances, but instead fight with arrows even as they flee. Take heed, for you are a good lord to us, and do not go out to meet them. It matters little that they have taken sheep, horses, and cattle from us. Let them keep their booty for now, as if on loan from us, and we may get it back later.'

When the Emperor heard this, he found fault with it, and, in a rage, bade them not to suggest such a thing to him again, for what they had to say was most shameful. 'To have my enemies before my very eyes, in plain view, raiding my lands, and causing damage and destruction, and I myself to stand here like a statue and let them be? I would rather meet my death today than to have it said abroad that I acted in this manner and lose my good name!'

He ordered the trumpets to be sounded, and divided those Franks he had with him into three battalions, and his Romans [Greeks] into another three, and then they descended into the plain. When the Cumans who had been sent to raid saw how the army had come out to meet them, it pleased them greatly, and they dissembled, pretending to flee with their booty. And the Franks, who were inexperienced in this type of warfare, began to chase after them in order to reach them, while they, still fleeing, fired arrows at their pursuers' chargers and mounts. They made them lose their heads

and deceived them to such a degree that they drew them into the ambush, where the Turks and Cumans immediately set upon the Franks and shot their mounts down. The Franks expected to fight them with lances and swords as they were accustomed to doing, but the Cumans, keeping their distance, would only fire arrows at them, and indeed fired so many that they slew them. The mounts died, and their riders fell. They had Turkish battle-axes and maces and with these they struck the polls of their adversaries repeatedly, and in this manner killed the Emperor and all his troops. Alas! A great loss was incurred that day! Every true and noble knight must grieve for those men who died unjustly, without even being given a chance of fighting!

The Romans [Greeks], for their part, who were with the Emperor, there in Adrianople, by and large escaped, for when they saw the Emperor was going to die, they left the battlefield, and returned to the city. They sent news to Constantinople about how the Turks had undone the Emperor.

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Index